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BY

E. W. GIFFORD

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Central Miwok modern dance house at Pigliku, near Groveland



# CENTRAL MIWOK CEREMONIES

BY

E. W. GIFFORD

## INTRODUCTION

The Central Miwok of the Sierra Nevada region of south central California live in the foothills of Stanislaus County and the foothills and lower mountains of Tuolumne and Calaveras counties. S. A. Barrett has published a map of the three Sierra Nevada Miwok dialect groups, to which he gave the county names of Amador, Tuolumne, and Mariposa Miwok (Barrett, 1908, map 3), but which are now designated as Northern, Central, and Southern, respectively. A. L. Kroeber, in his Handbook of the Indians of California, presents a map of the Miwok areas which shows the location of the principal villages, based in part on my data (Kroeber, 1925, pl. 37, name list on p. 445).

In 1926, I published an eighteen-page paper on Miwok Cults (Gifford, 1926a), which presented theoretical interpretations and something of an outline of what follows in this paper. The materials in the present paper are therefore basic and make available the Central Miwok details of one of the four principal religious systems of California, to wit, the Kuksu or god-impersonating cult. In scope the paper compares with Kroeber and Gifford's work on the World Renewal Religion of Northwestern California (1949). My theories as to the relative age and derivation of the Miwok ceremonies and dances are set forth in Miwok Cults, which should be consulted by the reader, who should also read my Southern Maidu Religious Ceremonies (1927), for a similar analysis of the ceremonies and dances of the northern neighbors of the Sierra Miwok.

The Central Miwok ceremonies discussed in this paper under the heading of "Ritual of the Living" belong to the widespread Central Californian god-impersonating, or Kuksu, cult. The name Kuksu is usually employed for this cult because of the frequent impersonation of this

supernatural being under this name, the name by which he is known among many Penutian and Hokan tribes in the Central Californian culture area. Kroeber, Barrett, Dixon, Loeb, and Gifford are the principal contributors of papers dealing with this cult. Kroeber gives general pictures of the Central Californian Kuksu cult in chapter 26, "The Wintun: Kuksu Cult," in his Handbook of the Indians of California (1925, pp. 364-384) and in his paper on the Patwin (1932).

Incorporated in the Central Miwok god-impersonating cult are certain performances dealing with the dead and ghosts, presented in this paper under the heading "Commemorative Ceremonies and Dances." It seems doubtful that these can be regarded as part of the "Ritual for the Dead," whose purpose is to honor the recent dead and to assuage the grief of the surviving relatives. The commemorative ceremonies deal with enemies, disease, and ghost impersonation and have traditionally recent and local origin.

The Central Miwok ceremonies discussed under "Ritual for the Dead" are much broader in distribution than the Kuksu or god-impersonating cult and are part of the standard mourning observances in both Central and Southern California and in adjoining Baja California. They cannot be considered part of the god-impersonating cult.

Except for the brief terminal section on "Dances at Mountain Villages," the dances described, unless otherwise specified, are largely those of the foothill region from Knights Ferry, in the lower foothills at about 200 feet elevation, to Jamestown, about 1,500 feet elevation.

I am writing in the present tense, even though most of the matters discussed are now things of the past.

## INFORMANTS

The Central Miwok data in the body of the following paper were obtained during the second and third decades of this century for the most part from Molestu or Tom Williams, chief of the Central Miwok village of Chakachino (Kroeber, 1925, pl. 37, no. 62) near Jamestown, Tuolumne County. (See Barrett, 1908, map 3, for location of modern American towns and villages.) His wife's daughter's son, John Kelly, was interpreter. Tom, an octogenarian, had lived the greater part of his life in the vicinity of Jamestown and of Knights Ferry, Stanislaus County. The Miwok village near Knights Ferry was Tuyiwūnu (Kroeber, 1925, pl. 37, no. 45). As is the rule in Central California, the ceremonies were more numerous at foothill villages than higher in the mountains, for example, at Soulsbyville, Carter (now called Tuolumne), Groveland, and Murphys. Tom had witnessed and described to me all of the ceremonies except the dances at mountain villages and had participated in many of them at Knights Ferry and at Jamestown. The section on "Dances at Mountain Villages" was recorded from other informants.

Other Central Miwok informants who supplied data for

the present paper were the following.

George Anderson, principal chief, of Ward's Ferry.

Mike Anderson, son of George Anderson. Consulted along with Louis at Knights Ferry.

Mrs. Lena Cox of Big Creek, near Groveland, daughter-in-law of Mrs. Mallie Cox.

Mrs. Mallie Cox of Tuolumne.

William Fuller, chief at Bald Rock, near Soulsbyville.

Kopetme or Yanapayak, chief of Hangwite (Kroeber, 1925, pl. 37, no. 55), near Soulsbyville. The nickname, Kopetme, refers to an injured foot.

Louis, a man of Knights Ferry, eighty years old in 1923.

Marikita, an old woman at Tuolumne.

Mrs. Sophia Thompson of Big Creek, near Groveland, chieftainess and mother of Mrs. Lena Cox.

Old Walker, at Vallecito, Calaveras County.

Mrs. Susie Williams, wife of Tom Williams.



## VILLAGE OFFICERS

To follow the description of the Central Miwok ceremonies an understanding of the duties of the hereditary chief (hayapo) or chieftainess (mayengo) and their appointed aides is necessary. The chieftainship is transmitted in the male line to a son or brother of the chief, although at times, when through paternal descent a woman becomes chieftainess, her son succeeds her. At Big Creek near Groveland Mrs. Sophia Thompson (Pilekuye) is chieftainess because she is the oldest surviving heir of her father, the chief Nomasu (Gifford, 1916, p. 170, genealogy 1). Her brothers died young, leaving her and her youngest sister, Hutamsi, as the only surviving children. Her oldest son, Alec Thompson (Anawuye), is regarded as her successor. The term oisayasū is applied to a chief's wife who is not a chieftainess by descent. A man who marries a chieftainess sometimes becomes chief, but as a rule he acts as speaker (yeyichbe) for his wife; Tom Thompson (Sapata) the husband of Sophia Thompson, is her speaker.

Sometimes a chief is chosen by the people, especially if the hereditary line has died out; "goodness of heart" seems to be the determining quality in the selection. Very often a village where the line of chiefs has expired may go several years without a chief.

If a chief dies when his son is only a child, the boy's mother acts as regent until he is twenty or twenty-one years old, when he takes full control himself. If the mother marries again, the boy does not lose his right to the chieftaincy, even if his mother marries a very noted chief. While the young chief is a minor, he receives daily training, especially in the matter of addressing the people, his instructor being the speaker or the courier of the village.

When he comes of age and assumes the chieftainship, he gives a small fiesta. He sends out knotted strings (sutila) with four knots, one for each day before the event. These are carried by the courier and the speaker, who visit every house in the neighboring villages. At each the courier presents a knotted string and the speaker makes a short speech, telling the people that this is the first fiesta given by the new chief and that he would therefore like everyone to come.

The visitors arrive on the third day, that is, one day before the time set for the fiesta. They assemble at the young chief's new house, which has been built for him by the men of his village without cost to him. The young chief makes a speech to his people and the visitors, who are fed by the villagers. The fiesta, on the following day, lasts only for the single day. The people feast, talk, and listen to speeches. There are no dances, and the celebration ends at sundown. The young chief, sitting on a bear hide, speaks about his deceased father, explaining that he is succeeding him. Those relatives of his father who are present weep. The people all give the new chief presents—shell necklaces, belts, baskets, bows and arrows—which are laid beside him on the bear hide. Following this brief fiesta the visitors go home.

About a week later the new chief tells the speaker to have the men make a new ceremonial assembly house. The old one has of course been burned after the death of his father, and there have been no dances in the village since. The speaker, when ready to begin the work, tells the young chief's mother that they are going to make a

ceremonial house for her son. She in turn tells her son, who replies: "Go ahead; it is all right." The speaker inaugurates the building of the ceremonial house by an address to the villagers. (See Barrett and Gifford, 1933, pp. 200-205, for the construction of the ceremonial assembly house.) Figure 1 of this paper shows the interior plan as a basis for understanding the descriptions of dances. A phonograph recording of the speaker's instructions to the people for the building of the new ceremonial house was made by Tom Williams in Miwok. Translated, the address is as follows.

That boy is getting to be a chief. Now all of you people get ready for him. Get everything ready. Be prepared to set up the poles and to fix the ceremonial house. The young chief is going to do the same as his father used to do. Now all of you men get ready. Put those poles up for him. All of you men get ready. Have the ceremonial house ready just the same as for his father. The young chief is going to do just the same as his father. He is going the same way as his father did. It is just the same, just the same. That is what his words tell us. All of you people get ready, for he is going to make a big celebration when the ceremonial house is completed.

Listen, all of you women. All of you women get the pine needles, get the pine needles [tukuwila]. He is going to do the same as his father did. He is going the same way as his father. He has thought of himself. He has thought of himself. He has prepared himself since his father died. He has prepared himself since his father died. He is going to do the same as his father. He is going to do the same as his father. He is going to do things as his father did. Get the things ready. Get the things ready. Fix the ground. Make the ground level. Get the poles. There are lots of poles around us; lots of poles around us. Get those poles which are nearest.

He is all right; he is all right. He is becoming a chief just like his father. That is what you will do. That is what you will do when the big celebration comes. He is just the same. He is going to be just the same kind of a man that his father was. There is nobody around us close by, so he is going to make the celebration himself. He is going to get ready. He is going to get ready for a big celebration after that ceremonial house is finished. Do not say "I am not in it." Do not say that. All of you people act the same as you used to. He is going to go just the same as his father and take care of us well. If you say that you are not like the old people, it will go different with you, it will go different. Things will turn out differently. We are going to do the same things that the old people in the early days used to do, the people who told us what a real celebration was and what a real chief should be. We follow the customs of those ancient people, and we do what they used to do in the early days. We will try to do what they used to do, when the time comes, when the night comes. He is doing the same way. He is doing well. He is going to be a good chief. He is doing well.

You can fix the ceremonial house and fix the ground for the ceremonial house. He is doing all right. He is doing all right. He is doing all right. I am glad he is



going the right way. He is doing all right. Get the brush and the pine needles for the ceremonial house. Get those poles that go across the top, those that go across. Have the ceremonial house ready, so that we shall all be glad from now on. All of you people, I guess you have heard what I have said. Get ready, Get ready.

This speech is made in ceremonial (archaic ?) language, or, as the informant expressed it, "chief's talk." My interpreter had a hard time understanding it and had to ask the assistance of the informant throughout.

When the new ceremonial house is finished, the young chief prepares for a "cry" or mourning ceremony (yame) commemorative of his father. He sends out invitation strings with twelve knots, one for each day before the ceremony, to every village he can reach, often at a considerable distance. He sends his speaker and courier, together with special messengers to neighboring chiefs. Only one man is sent to each village. The chiefs to whom the knotted strings are sent make new ones and send them on to other villages which cannot be so readily reached by the original messengers.<sup>1</sup>

When the speaker returns he goes directly to the young chief's house and reports. He tells the young chief that the chief whom he has visited is going to bring his people and, furthermore, that he has sent the message to other villages. Similarly, all the messengers report at the young chief's house as soon as they return.

The visitors arrive a day before the time set. On the night of their arrival, and on the two following nights, they cry within the new ceremonial house. The first part of the cry takes place on the night preceding the last day indicated by the knotted strings. The cry is for the old chief, the young chief's father, even though he may have been dead for many years. Some of the visitors think about their own dead relatives when they wail, but officially the cry is only for the dead chief. Before they begin, and during the ceremonial intermissions, the speaker talks about the dead chief. The young chief does not make any speeches; he cries like the rest of the people. As in the usual cry or mourning ceremony (see p. 313) which follows a year after a death, there is no singing. The people stamp around the ceremonial house for two or three hours each evening, circling the fire and wailing. The visitors sleep in the ceremonial house each night, and the residents in their dwellings. No offerings or presents are made.

On the morning after the third night of the cry the washing of the mourners takes place. The visitors remain throughout the ensuing day and night, after which they go home. Sometimes such dances as aletu and tamula are given on the fourth day.

The chief is the most powerful man in the community by virtue not only of birth but also of wealth. He usually has more shell money and other forms of wealth than anyone else and he also owns numerous dance costumes. Frequently the informant Tom Williams, in describing dances, mentioned that the chief would lend a costume to a dancer who had none. Thus, in the mamasu dance, the chief may say to the dancer: "I think we had better have a little dance, the people are lonesome." The chief then lends the dancer an outfit if he does not have one.

A powerful chief usually has two or three groups, of perhaps a half-dozen young men each, usually unmarried, who hunt for him and are entirely supported by him, being supplied with food and shelter. Certain chiefs also have official fishermen, who are fed and housed by the chief exactly like the hunters. Tom Williams once served as fisherman for a chief.

In a small village where there is no village speaker, the chief addresses his people directly. When he wishes them to assemble, he calls from the top of the ceremonial house: "Uke, uke, aitun" ("Get in, get in, all.") Usually a chief does little public speaking, but he must be able to.

George Anderson, chief at Ward's Ferry, gave an example of a short speech.

"Get up. Get up. All the people get up. From the next house and the next house. Wash yourselves, wash your faces. After you wash yourself eat breakfast. Go hunt for something. You will get hungry. After you get something you will eat something if you find something. Get up. Get up. Get up."

A longer address, delivered in Miwok by chief Yanapayak at Bald Rock, was recorded in 1913 on the phonograph. It begins as the usual morning speech made each day from the top of the ceremonial house, then, in the second paragraph, turns to an address before a cry or mourning ceremony. The old chief was well over ninety years old when he made this recording and apparently started to give the ordinary morning speech, then included the reference to the mourning ceremony:

"Get up. Get up. Get up. Get up. [Repeated five times.] Wake up. Wake up. Wake up. People get up on the south side, east side, east side, east side, east side, north side, north side, north side, lower side, lower side, lower side. You folks come here. Visitors are coming, visitors are coming. Strike out together. Hunt deer, squirrels. And you women strike out, gather wild onions, wild potatoes. Gather all you can. Gather all you can. Pound acorns, pound acorns, pound acorns. Cook and cook. Make some bread, make some bread, make some bread. So we can eat, so we can eat, so we can eat. Put it up, and put it up, and put it up. Make acorn soup so that the people will eat it. There are many coming. Come here, come here, come here, come here. You have to be dry and hungry. Be for awhile. Got nothing here. People get up, people around get up. Wake up. Wake up so that you can cook. Visitors are here now and all hungry. Get ready so we can feed them. Gather up, gather up, and bring it all in, so we can give it to them. Go ahead and eat. That's all we have. Don't talk about starvation, because we never have much. Eat acorns. There is nothing to it.

"Eat and eat. Eat. Eat. Eat. Eat. So that we can get ready to cry. Everybody get up. Everybody get up. All here, very sad occasion. All cry. All cry. Last time for you to be sad. Go ahead and cook. Go ahead and cook. Get all of your stuff cooked. Get all your stuff cooked. People are hungry. People are hungry. Get ready for tonight. Get ready for tonight. Gather it up. Gather it up. Go ahead and distribute it. Distribute it. Go ahead and eat. You people are hungry, hungry. Eat, eat.

"Crying ended. Crying ended. Cook and cook and cook, if you have any left. A person always gets hungry. People are hungry and have been traveling a long way, a long road. People always return home. They always want a little to take along. You never want to think

<sup>1</sup> In ancient times some villages furnished the chiefs certain assistants for the fiestas. For instance, the chief of one village might supply the hunters, another the dancers, another the guessing-game people. The village of Hangwite, which is said to have had a population of about 60 in 1840 (Kroeber, 1925, pl. 37, no. 55), was ruled at that time by a head chief who had five sons. Each was called in turn by the chiefs of various villages to take charge of fiestas or cries.



people have too much. Better to have people speak well of us, than to say that we were stingy.

"Everybody come here. Everybody come here. Brothers and brothers. Fathers and fathers. Everybody come here. Rest up, rest up. Tiresome walking. Tiresome walking. You have starved and starved and starved. We have nothing. We have not got it ready. You will have it, we will find something for you. People, get something. Hurry up. Get ready. They are dry and thirsty. Here we are. Here we are. Eat and drink. Not so very much. We cannot have so very much. We are always starving. People from all around gather to come. Watch the people coming in. People whom you do not see all of the time. Come in and associate with them. Those at home have relatives that they always like to talk about. Come in and associate. You people always talk about your parents or friends. 'I wish I could see them. I wish I could be with them. I wish the chief would put up some sort of a gathering.' That is what you always say when there is nothing going on. You always speak about your old folks, the ones who are dead. There are not many fiestas going on, all big men are dying off. There will be no opportunity for more fiestas. That's all."

The appointed aides of a chief are the village speaker or orator (yeyichbe) and the messenger or courier (liwape), who have ceremonial as well as civil functions. Oratorical ability is apparently the requisite for either office. The terms have synonyms: at Knights Ferry the village speaker is called yeyuche, the courier hūsi or nenabe.<sup>2</sup> At Coulterville, in Southern Miwok territory, the courier is called kotewū, in reference to his duties as messenger in connection with a "big time" or fiesta (kote).

The speaker (yeyichbe) talks to the home people from the top of the ceremonial house each morning and evening (and sometimes at noon), giving orders on behalf of the chief about the gathering and preparation of food. In addition he is responsible for the division and passing of the food at a fiesta. The account of the kuksuyu dance (p. 269) gives a detailed description of this part of his duties.

The messenger or courier (liwape or yayumbe) talks from the top of the ceremonial assembly house (hangi) to the visitors invited to a fiesta and also speaks on the occasion of a death. He serves, too, as the chief's messenger to other villages, delivering the invitations for a fiesta; sometimes he is accompanied by the village speaker. He usually delivers his message direct to another chief, giving him the sutila or knotted invitation string, on which each knot represents a day before the date of the fiesta (Barrett and Gifford, pl. 63, fig. 1). When he orates at home, the liwape is called yayumbe; when he serves as courier abroad, he is known as liwape (liwa, "to speak"; yayume, "to preach or orate"). He takes orders direct from the chief and must go as directed, rain or shine. The chief sets the time for a fiesta.

Tom Williams said that he had been a liwape for twenty years, under the chief George Anderson. He went around from place to place and talked to the people in the various ceremonial houses. He usually sat in the middle of the

ceremonial house with a basket in front of him, into which the people threw coins for him. Wherever he went he was feasted. As chief of the village of Chakachino he talked to all chiefs who came there.

Whenever a speaker or a chief speaks at a fiesta, he kneels or sits on the ground. As he talks, he bows so that his head almost touches the ground. To emphasize his speech, he swings his clenched right hand horizontally in front of his stomach close to his body. Tom Williams says that sometimes he himself bowed so low that his beard touched the ground. (See portrait in Gifford, 1917, pl. 6.) Some men use both fists to emphasize their speech. On the occasion of a fiesta the orator talks about the different lineages of the visitors. Sometimes he names all the nena (lineage or origin places) in a region "100 miles square." (Gifford, 1926b, p. 389.)

The minor aides of a chief are: hunters (hayapong lemingbek or wunutbek as distinguished from hotusbek, hunters in general); salmon fishermen (kosumbek, literally "salmon-ers"; singular, kosumbe); four male ceremonial cooks for deer meat (hinubbek); and servers (walutbek) of food at a ceremonial gathering.

The hunters receive orders direct from the chief. Before a fiesta he directs the hunters and fishers,<sup>3</sup> sending some men for deer, others for jack rabbits, others for salmon. Ordinarily some chiefs get their own food, though others do not. At a fiesta (kote) the village speaker supervises the women, particularly in food preparation, and takes charge of the distribution of food.

The fisherman catches fish and others help him. The fisherman learns from his father, also a fisherman.

Following a successful hunt in which many men in the community participate, four of the slain deer are cooked ceremonially by the four ceremonial cooks, who do not take part in the hunt. When the hunters reach home at night, the cooks immediately set to work to prepare four of the deer, the rest being distributed among the people, so that the meat may be dried. The cooking is done at the chief's house and when the meat is cooked four to six girls and boys, called walutbek ("waiters"),<sup>4</sup> prepare to carry it to the different houses. One of the cooks awakens the chief, who has not been hunting. He arises and calls the waiters, giving each one a large piece of cooked meat with instructions to take it to such and such a house. The meat is delivered immediately, and, even though it may be the middle of the night, everyone eats. The hunters proceed to their homes before the cooked meat is distributed.

This ceremonial cooking of deer meat takes place only at large villages. The chief receives an extra share of the meat, more than anyone else. Shamans, however, do not receive an extra portion. The same men do the cooking for each big hunt, but the boys and girls employed as waiters may be changed each time. When a man hunts for himself and family alone, he may keep the game he kills.

At each village where there is a chief and a ceremonial assembly house (hangi), there is usually a fire-tender (chamusa wugube), for the funeral fire, who cremates the dead. Whether he is the same as the fire-tender (wugube) for the ceremonial house was not learned.

<sup>3</sup> A general term for hunter and fisher is loli, which means literally "not staying at home."

<sup>4</sup> Sing., walutbe; plur., walutbek, see below. The term is also applied to any server at a gathering.

<sup>2</sup> At Knights Ferry nenabe is also the title of the war leader, an appointive office. The war leader fights in front in a battle.



## CEREMONIAL OFFICIALS

For the dances, there is often a drum major, called sobobbe, who directs the actions of the performers. The singer (mulikbe) and the drummer (tumukbe) usually wear no special costumes; the singer in most dances carries a split-stick elderwood clapper (takatta). Drumming is done by stamping on the foot drum. The space around the drum, occupied by singers during dances, is called adja. In some dances there is a whistler, who wears a costume and carries a double bone whistle (suleppa).

Clowns, called woochi, painted white, add a comic feature to some dances, and also present a dance of their own. In the pota ceremony there are other clowns, who dance gazing at the sun.

The generic term for dancer is kalangbe. There are,

moreover, for the participants in each dance, specific designations, which are given in the dance descriptions beyond. These designations are words with the agentive suffix -be (plural -bek), comparable to English -er as in singer or drummer (Freeland, 1951, p. 151). Thus, the singer is mulikbe, the drummer is tumukbe, the drum major is sobobbe, and so on. The spirit impersonators are likewise designated. Thus, the impersonator of kuksuyu is the kukusbe, of mochilo the mochilbe, of osa (woman) the osabe (literally, "woman-er"), and so on.

Usually chiefs do not dance, although the chief is the head of the dancers and dance organization. Feather regalia are usually in the chief's charge, and are kept in his house. The place where dancers dress and paint is called wole.

## CEREMONIAL HOUSE AND DANCE PARAPHERNALIA

The Miwok ceremonial assembly house or hangi is usually a semisubterranean earth lodge (Barrett and Gifford, pp. 200-207, pl. 38), more rarely an openwork brush structure. A modern innovation is a board structure with shingled roof, entirely above ground (frontispiece). These structures are described and pictured in the work just cited. The Central Californian earth-covered ceremonial house varies slightly from group to group. Barrett has published a fine description of the Pomo ceremonial house (1916, pp. 10-17), which is used much as is the Miwok.

The foot-drum, an essential part of the equipment, is a hollowed arc of log placed over a pit which serves as a resonance chamber. It is well shown in Barrett's Pomo illustrations (1916, pls. 9-11), but in the Miwok dance house the drum occupies a different position. The long side of the Miwok drum is placed a short distance from the back wall opposite the door, the drum being placed at right angles to the position of the drum in the Pomo dance house. Figure 1 shows the floor plan and position of the drum in Miwok ceremonial assembly houses. The fire, kept burning during dances, occupies a central position between the four center posts, directly under the smoke hole at the peak of the roof.

Feathers mounted on sticks are used as hair ornaments and are called variously makki, sonolu, and chalila; they are also often referred to as tremblers (Barrett and Gifford, pl. 72). Sometimes the sonolu is carried in the hand. Headbands of salmon-pink flicker feathers are called tamikila (ibid., pl. 73). Some dancers wear on the back a feather cape (metikila) composed of a net foundation with crow or raven and chicken hawk feathers attached (ibid.,

pls. 64, 65). Down feathers, kept in pouches (ibid., pl. 63, fig. 5) are used on the faces of certain dancers. Each woman dancer usually carries a boa (patu) of goose down. Sometimes the dancers wear wooden earplugs and shell nose sticks (ibid., pl. 63, fig. 6). A hair net (wayaka) is used to confine the hair of male dancers and to make a firm foundation for inserting feather ornaments (ibid., pl. 62, figs. 3, 4; p. 223). A head ornament consisting of a bunch of yellow-billed magpie feathers is called achachu.

Whistles of bone (suleppa) and elderwood are used by certain dancers (ibid., pl. 57; p. 249). The split-stick elderwood clapper rattle (takatta) (ibid., p. 250), and to a less extent the cocoon rattle (sokossa) (Kroeber, 1925, p. 420, fig. 37f), along with the drum, furnish the accompaniment for the dances. The clapper, when used, is handled by the singer.

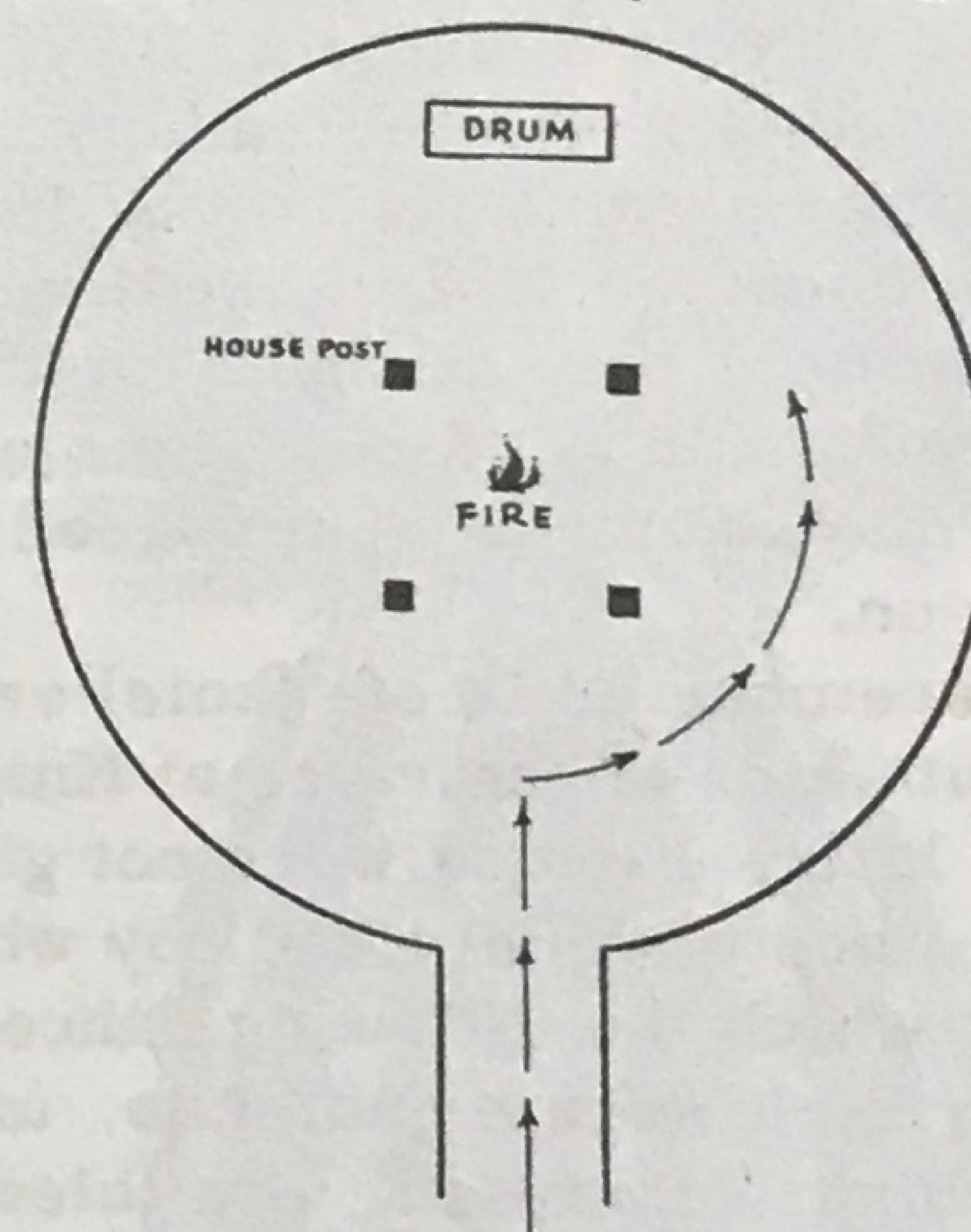


Fig. 1. Ceremonial dance house.

## PATTERN OF CEREMONIES AND RITUALISTIC ACTIONS

Most of the dances, especially the sacred performances, take place in the ceremonial assembly house; a few are sometimes danced out of doors. The musical accompaniment is furnished by singers and drummers, usually directed by a drum major, occasionally by the drummer. The exclamations of this official give the signals for the musicians and dancers. Many of the songs which accompany the dancing consist, not of definite words, but of meaningless syllables or sounds and no translation could be obtained for them.

Miwok ritual is repetitive, four being the sacred number. Ritual acts are usually performed four times consecutively; ceremonies last four days and nights. Customarily each piece of regalia is passed over the wearer's head four times before it is put on. Each dance is in four parts, with intervals of rest. The entry of the dancers and

their taking up of their respective positions in the ceremonial house constitute a prelude, and their departure a finale, to the four parts of the dance proper.

The movement of the dance is almost always counter-clockwise, that is, to the right of the entrance. In the following descriptions of dances "right" always means to the right as one looks into the house from the doorway. Women, once in position, usually dance in place, without circling the room except on their departure.

In the ceremonies the scattering of seed is a common form of offering; seed is offered to the sacred birds used in the rituals and is scattered over the feather regalia. The regalia, stored in the chief's house between ceremonies, are periodically sprinkled with seed. The parallel with the Puebloan use of maize meal is obvious, as Heizer has remarked (1946, p. 191).



## RITUAL OF THE LIVING

I have subsumed under this title those ceremonies and dances which, so far as I know, are not performed on behalf of the recently deceased but are presented for the benefit and enjoyment of the living. In a broad sense, of course, even the ritual for the dead may be thought of as benefitting the living, since by satisfying the dead and laying ghosts it prevents the spirits of the departed from annoying the living.

The ritual of the living is described here under three headings: Sacred Ceremonies, Commemorative Ceremonies, and Profane (not sacred) Ceremonies. Actually,

at any given fiesta, there may be performances in all three of these categories in the four-day program.

First fruits observances are common locally, the ceremony being referred to as a "little time," *uwetu* (from *uwe*, "to eat"), as opposed to a "big time," *kote*, characterized by gambling and dancing, to which many people are usually invited from a distance. Tom Williams said that "little times" are celebrated for new acorns, but that as a rule no dances are held on these occasions. Since people from other communities are not invited to these affairs, no invitation strings are dispatched.

### SACRED CEREMONIES AND DANCES

Not all the performances discussed under this heading are equally sacred. Perhaps "sacred" is not an entirely proper term to use for the quality in the ceremonies which the Miwok regard as a danger threatening both performers and audience. This danger lies in the feather regalia, which, if not properly made and handled, may cause illness.

The following accounts by the informant Louis of Knights Ferry reveal the native attitude toward the dances.

Louis first saw ceremonial house (*hang*i) dances at Tuyiwūnu, on the north side of the river at Knights Ferry when he was six years old. He felt scared in the *hang*i, scared of people in feathers. He knew they were people, but he was afraid of the feathers. The dancers were disguised so as to be unrecognizable. The adults kept back the children, for, if one touched the feathers, he would get sick. The sickness is called *mo'tu*, and it may afflict any part—head, stomach, knees, and so on.

The next ceremony or fiesta (*kote*) seen by Louis was on the south side of the river at Knights Ferry several years later. Fiestas were not given every year. He was a pretty good-sized boy when he saw the second one, at which the following dances were performed: *kuksuyu*, *lole*, *wehena*, *tula*, *uzumati*, *hiweyi*, *uchupela*, *olochina*, *temayasu*, *alte* (*aletu*), and *katwa* (*woochi*). These were all danced at one fiesta, which lasted four days and four nights. The participants were local people. When necessary to fill in, outsiders took part. *Kuksuyu* was the biggest dance.

About 1858, according to Louis, the Knights Ferry bridge went out. Louis was a boy then. At that time, the Jamestown people had learned dances from the Knights Ferry people, who in turn got them from the *Alowituk* (westerners, probably *Yokuts* and *Costanoan*). At the time the bridge went out the Jamestown people had already been taught the dances.

The most sacred and elaborate of the ceremonies is the *kuksuyu*, which combines the *kuksuyu* dramatic performance with several others, the *kuksuyu* being the main performance. Although regarded as very sacred or dangerous, certain of its acts are comic. Other performances which usually follow *kuksuyu* at the same fiesta are *uchupela*, *uzumati*, *salute*, *akontoto*, *lileusi*, and *olochina*.

The only dances besides the *kuksuyu* in which the dan-

cers wear masks or hoods are the *helekasi* and *sulesko*; in these the dancers' heads are completely enveloped in hoods of deerskin. In the *kuksuyu* dance, the feather cloak of the chief performer, the *kukusbe*, hangs from the top of the head and completely conceals the dancer. In other dances, paint and feathers tend to conceal a dancer's identity.

The sacred dances of the Central Miwok, as has been said, are impersonations of supernatural beings. Very little information was obtained on the nature of these beings. According to a Northern Miwok informant the *tula* (p. 286) is a kind of diminutive fairy that women sometimes see dancing in a hollow tree. Some dances are mimetic, the dancers simulating the movements of certain animals: the *salute*, katydid; the *akantoto*, creeper; the *olochina*, owl; the *hekeke*, valley quail; the *moloku*, condor; the *uzumati*, grizzly bear. Tom Williams thinks that the *kuksuyu* is a *sulesko*, or sort of spirit.

One night, when Tom Williams and George Anderson were passing a cabin near the first house below the lowest gate at Chakachino, on the road to Jamestown, they were chased by a *kuksuyu*. This was after *Hateya*, a woman who acted as the *osabe*, had been buried with a *kuksuyu* costume. Tom and George ran as fast as they could when they recognized the *kuksuyu* approaching. They knew what the apparition was by the big feather headdress and the sound of feathers dragging on the ground. This was near the creek at a place where once, when Tom was a child, some Miwok were killed by an armed force of Spaniards and western Indians and left unburied. Cries and moans are often heard here.

The Miwok *kuksuyu* impersonator does not scarify children, as is done among the Pomo (Loeb, 1932, p. 110). People avoid touching the *kuksuyu*'s feathers and keep children away, because they would be sick the next morning if they touched them. Children are allowed in the dance house to see the *kuksuyu* dance and other dances. Mike Anderson saw the *kuksuyu* once at Ward's Ferry when he was sixteen or eighteen years old. Younger children were also present and were warned not to get too close. On this occasion the husband of Susanna of Chakachino was the *kuksuyu*. The *mochilo* was a Bald Rock man who died about 1903. The *osabe* was Charley Gomez, a half-breed living at Knights Ferry in 1923.



## KUKSUYU

There are three characters in the kuksuyu dance: the kuksuyu, the mochilo, and the osabe. The first two are always men, spoken of respectively as the kukusbe and mochilbe. The third character, osabe, is usually a man; on rare occasions, a woman (osa) takes the part. When the kuksuyu dance is decided upon, the chief asks the kukusbe and mochilbe to get crow and raven feathers. They select men, usually ten to fifteen, to accompany them on this errand. These hunters are called hotusbek. Usually they get young ravens or crows that have not yet left the nests, some sixty to eighty altogether, and pluck the feathers from the birds.

The kukusbe and mochilbe make the costumes and paraphernalia for the ceremony, with perhaps some help from the speaker of the village and from other dancers. New costumes are sometimes required, for when a kuksuyu dancer dies, his costume is destroyed at his funeral. As a rule, the assistants make the sinew string and cut the feathers. The man who takes the part of osabe also helps make the paraphernalia. If this role is taken by a woman, however, she is not allowed to assist in making the sacred objects. Paraphernalia may be made for other dances at the same time that they are made for the kuksuyu dance. When feather objects are made, the men must work four days and four nights, four being the number associated with all sacred matters.

The kukusbe and mochilbe begin with the cloak, which is to cover the kukusbe from the top of his head to his heels, completely concealing him. They start by making two nets of milkweed string. This string is made by two men who also make the deer sinew string used to tie the feathers onto the net. While the net is being made, two assistants split the raven feathers down the middle of the shaft. Instead of splitting some of the larger feathers, the men scrape away the base of the shaft for half its thickness so that they can bend the shaft more easily when tying it to the net. The upper parts of the nets, which fit around the dancer's head, are much narrower than the lower part and are covered with one row of the feathers which are split for their entire length. The feathers with half of the base of the shaft removed are tied on to the net at the knots; the split base is folded over through the knot and tied with sinew. The two separate nets are sewed together to form the complete cloak, one net for the front, the other for the back. Each net is about six feet long and four feet wide at the bottom and always has forty knots across the bottom. Kukusbe works on one net and mochilbe on the other, both singing as they work; sometimes the assistants sing too, a song with no meaning. When making paraphernalia of this sort, the men work day and night until it is finished. The term kuksuyu applies to the whole costume, both the feather cloak and the headdress.

The kukusbe and the mochilbe also make the cape (metikila), of feathers tied to a net (Barrett and Gifford, p. 228, pls. 64, 65), and the flicker headband (tamikila) (ibid., p. 227, pl. 73).

A ring (tewela) or band of white oak wood—a thin branch, bent and tied—is made by one of the helpers, so that it just fits the kukusbe's head like the band of a hat. Two strings, crossing at right angles, are fastened to the ring and rest on top of the head to keep the ring from slipping down too low. The upper edges of the two nets which have been sewed together to make the kuksuyu costume are now tied by string loops to this wooden ring. The ring is placed on the head of the kukusbe and the net falls down on all sides, covering him completely, from the top of his head to the ground on which he stands. When he dances he has to hold

up the feather cloak to avoid stepping on it. There are no armholes in the costume.

A headdress, called yache, mostly of large hawk wing feathers, is tied to the wooden ring. This headdress is a sort of mat of string to which hawk feathers are attached so as to stand upright. The string with the feathers is coiled in a spiral to the right and sewed to form the mat. The central feather of this headdress is a large bald eagle's wing feather painted white with chalk (walangasu) (ibid., p. 224), which sticks up vertically above the hawk feathers. After the mat has been tied on to the wooden ring, other hawk feathers are attached at the periphery, so that they stick out horizontally. Later, when the whole costume has been put on, more feathers are sewed on or stuck into the mat above this horizontal row, bristling in every direction.

Fastened to the kuksuyu cloak are little squares made of the salmon-pink shafts of the feathers of the red-shafted flicker. There are also four long flicker feather bands (ibid., p. 227, pls. 72, 73) reaching from the top of the costume to about the knees, one fastened over each shoulder in front and one over each shoulder behind (see fig. 2). These are fastened only at the top, so they are free to swing and fly in all directions when the kukusbe dances. Just under the wooden ring on the kukusbe's head are fastened two white goosedown boas. One forms a semi-circle around the rear half of the wooden headband, the

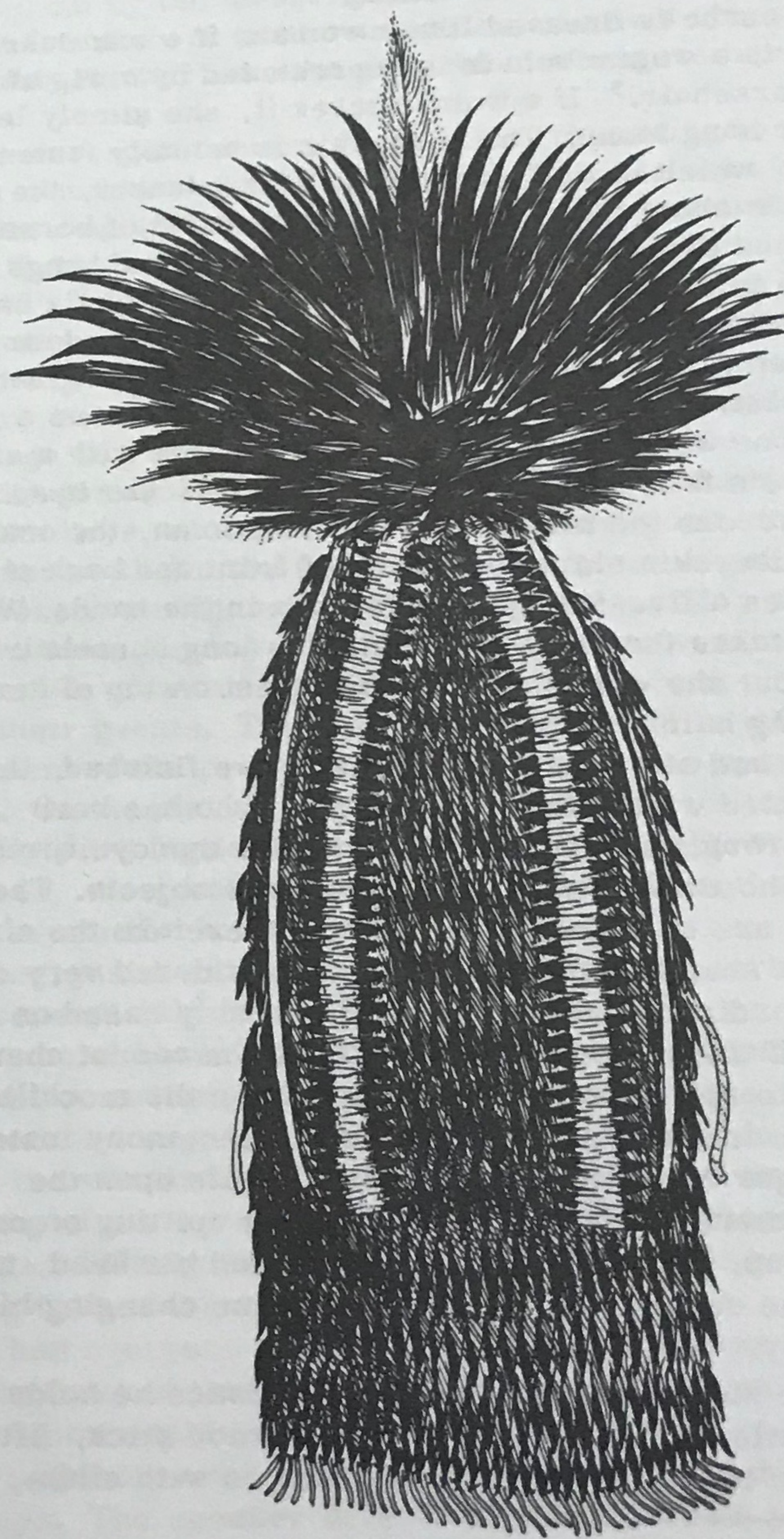


Fig. 2. Kuksuyu dance costume.



other a semicircle around the forward half. The ends of these boas hang down on each side of the kukusbe, reaching nearly to the knees. They swing about as the kukusbe dances, sometimes in front of his shoulders, sometimes behind.

The mochilbe, impersonator of the mochilo spirit, wears a net cape like a metikila with raven or crow feathers sewed on it. This cape, called by the special name of chakala, is worn on the back and is fastened under the armpits across the chest, hanging down behind to about the level of the knees. The mochilbe's hair is held in place by a net. Before his eyes he wears two loops of twigs painted red, joined by a connecting stick over his nose and held in place by a string which passes around his head. These look much like large spectacles. On his brow he wears a flicker headband which sticks out about six inches on either side. A long feather thrust into his hair projects from the center of his forehead and droops downward in front of his nose. He carries a five-foot cane of elderwood with a big feather bunch on the upper end and three small ones tied one above the other on the sides. Another ornament of the tail feathers of the magpie (achachu), eight or ten inches long, stands up from the back of his head. A double bone whistle hangs on a string about his neck. His skin is painted red all over, except where the garment covers his middle. The word mochilo, untranslated by the Miwok, suggests the Yokuts word for "old woman."

The osabe is dressed like a woman. If a man takes this part, a woman's hair is represented by a wig of black horsehair.<sup>5</sup> If a woman takes it, she simply lets her hair hang loose. The horsehair is actually fastened to a net, which is tied on the head of the dancer, the hair hanging to about the waist. A separate crest of horsehair is fastened to the net at the top of the head and hangs down the middle of the back of the head, forming a narrow crest about an inch and a half high. A goosedown boa is tied around the head, with the ends hanging behind to the waist. Like the mochilbe, the osabe carries a double bone whistle fastened around the neck with a string. The osabe's face is painted solid red. A flicker headband is worn across the brow. Like a real woman, the osabe wears a deerskin skirt consisting of front and back pieces and carries a five-foot goosedown boa in the hands. When a woman takes the place of a man, the long horsehair is omitted; but she wears a horsehair crest on top of her own flowing hair.

Before and after the paraphernalia are finished, they are sprinkled with seeds. The singer, who has been present throughout, now chews and spits monoyu (jimsonweed) and hopolisa (unidentified) over the objects. These two plants are used only by shamans, therefore the singer has to be a shaman. Both plants are considered very dangerous to ordinary people, a belief probably based on actual fact. If the singer is not a shaman, he cannot chew the plants to spit upon the garments. Then the mochilbe, provided he is a shaman, performs the ceremony instead.

The singer or mochilbe sings as he spits upon the sacred garments. As soon as he finishes spitting on one, he picks it up, passes it four times around his head, and starts on the second one, at the same time changing his song slightly.

When the kukusbe is dressed for the dance he holds a sort of whistle, which is a hollow elderwood stick, fifteen inches long, covered with deerhide tied on with sinew. The

lower end is plugged with pitch and there are no holes in the sides. The kukusbe holds the whistle in his right hand under the cloak, the lower end pressed tightly between his upper arm and his body, the open end held so that he can blow across the mouth of the tube, making a noise like that produced by blowing across the mouth of a bottle. He holds the whistle in a slanting position to get the best results. Thus when he dances he holds the whistle with his right hand, while his left hand holds up the cloak, usually clasping it in front on a level with his thighs.

Each time before the elderberry whistle is used the kukusbe urinates in it to offset the effects of any "poison" which may have been used against him by a shaman. He puts his finger over the end and shakes the tube, thus washing it out. This practice is effective not only for poison put in the whistle, but also for any poison used directly against the kukusbe himself.

The informant pointed out that the Northern Miwok at Lone in Amador County use a real flute in the kuksuyu dance, and also that the flute is held horizontally. Another difference he mentioned between the kuksuyu costumes of Knights Ferry and Lone is that the Lone dancers wear the front of the feather cloak open so that the face and upper part of the chest are visible.

It takes altogether four days and four nights to complete the paraphernalia for the three people who take part in the kuksuyu dance. All of the paraphernalia is made out in the bush a little way from the village. It may be finished either in the morning or in the evening. The speaker of the village, who has been watching the workers, helping a little in minor jobs, and singing, tells the chief that they have finished. The chief goes to the houses and tells the women to bring whole manzanita berries, hulled acorns, and tuyu seed. Each woman brings one of the three sorts asked for. As the women pass by the place where the costumes were made, the kukusbe stands there wearing his costume; other sacred articles are beside him on the ground. As each woman passes she throws some seed or acorns, which she takes out of a small basket, over him and over the costumes and paraphernalia.

After all of the women have thrown these offerings over the dancer and the paraphernalia they stand back while the kukusbe dances to a song by the regular or official singer—the song which he later sings for the regular kuksuyu dance. Even the drum major, too, is present. He sits to one side and exclaims "Bau wai! Bau wai!" The kukusbe dances thus for four periods. Each time the singer comes to the end of a period he ends his song with the expression "Uiya!" After the fourth period of dancing the kukusbe takes off the costume and puts it on the pile with the others. The kukusbe dances alone; neither the mochilbe nor the osabe dance, nor do they wear their costumes at this time.

After this ceremony the village speaker rolls up the paraphernalia in a tule mat (linga) made at the same time as the costumes, and takes it to the chief's house, where it is stored. After depositing it, he goes around to the houses of the people of the village and tells everyone that the chief requests their presence at his house that evening.

That evening, when the people come, the chief fastens up inside his house a knotted string with four knots to indicate that in four days the kuksuyu dance will be given for the people of the village. After this visit to the chief's house the speaker announces the coming dance each morning and each evening from the chief's doorstep.

At this little fiesta for the people of the village all the dances which usually accompany the kuksuyu are rehearsed. These rehearsals are held only when the kuksuyu dance is given, not for any other dance. The regular fiesta, to

<sup>5</sup> Before the Americans came, the horses were stolen from the Mexicans, or else wild horses were shot. The hunters watched at the spring or creek where they came to drink and then shot them with bow and arrow.



which outsiders are invited, may come any time after the preliminary one, whenever the chief feels inclined to have it.

Perhaps a week or ten days after the rehearsal, the chief tells his speaker to call the people together. The speaker stands in front of the ceremonial house and makes a short speech before sunrise: "Come on everybody, get together at the chief's place." He asks the people to assemble at the chief's house a little after sunrise.

Soon after the people have breakfasted they all gather in the chief's dwelling. The chief takes them to the ceremonial house and leads them into it. Not only the men, but also women and children are present. The speaker is there already and there is a fire burning, for the speaker has given orders to have it built early in the morning. After entering the ceremonial house the chief talks to his speaker, telling him that he wants to give a fiesta at which he will have the *kuksuyu* dance. He asks the speaker to get things ready for a big fiesta.

The speaker then addresses the people, as follows.

"Have you people anything? Have you people any little things of one sort or another? The chief, I guess, is getting ready for a fiesta. The chief said to me: 'I wonder if they have any food to help me with. I want them to help me when the visitors come.' That is what the chief said to me. That is what the chief said, and he wanted me to let you know about it. All of you women, I guess you will listen. You men, I guess you will go out for deer and any other game. The chief said that he would give a fiesta. 'You can get ready,' is what the chief said to the *kukusbe*. He said, 'You can get ready with the feather costumes that have been made recently.' That is what the chief said. 'I am glad,' is what the chief said. That is what the chief said: 'I am glad the feather costumes are finished.'

"After a while the chief will send some of you men in different directions with knotted strings [*sutila*]. 'I will send the knotted strings in different directions to the people,' is what the chief said. That is what the chief said when he told me to tell you people.

"Now, you people, listen; you people listen to what the chief said to me when he thought about having a fiesta. 'Man, watch them dance; watch them dance from different sides.' That is what the chief said to me. I guess all of you people have listened to what I have said. When the guests come, all of you women be sure to have the things ready. Don't say no, and don't say you have nothing. Every little bit helps. Now all of you people, I guess you heard him [the chief], you heard him, you heard him. Now all you people listen."

The message of the chief is thus transmitted to the people by the speaker. The chief himself ties eight knots on a string given him by the speaker and hands it to the *yeyichbe*, who counts the knots. The speaker himself then ties two more knots. This addition by the speaker is customary in the preparations for the *kuksuyu* dance. When the speaker has counted the knots and put two more on the string, making ten, he hands it back to the chief. The chief counts the knots and says that it is all right. The chief himself then ties ten knots in each of the other knotted strings which are to be sent out, counting the knots on each string as he does so. The number of strings he makes depends on the number of chiefs he intends to invite. Each time the chief completes a string he hands it

over to the speaker, who inspects it and then hands it back to the chief. This ceremony of making the knotted strings takes place in the presence of the people inside the ceremonial house, after the speaker's address.

Four or five knotted strings are usually sent out; one is kept by the chief himself. The ones to be sent out are handed to the speaker when the chief has finished making them. The speaker and the courier select men as messengers. If there are five knotted strings, the speaker may pick out two men, while the courier selects only one. The speaker gives two of the knotted strings to the courier and he in turn gives one to the man he selects. Each man is given one of the knotted strings to carry, while the courier and the speaker take one each. Sometimes, if there are five strings, the speaker gives three to the courier instead of keeping three himself. There seems to be no rule for this, except that both speaker and courier choose at least one additional messenger.

When the messengers deliver the knotted strings they say: "Our chief has sent us over here to give you this, and to ask you to bring some people with you." They also say that there is going to be a little dance, but they do not tell the name of it.

The chiefs to whom the knotted strings are delivered make new ones with the necessary number of knots. These are made without the ceremonial handing back and forth described above. The distribution of these new strings is carried out by the messengers of the chiefs who make them. The news of the intended fiesta is thus spread considerably farther than the original messengers have carried it.

A messenger sent out by the chief proposing to give the fiesta remains at the village to which he has been sent until the messengers sent out from that village have returned. Upon their return the messenger sets out for home again. A third relay of knotted strings is never sent; the second relay seems to reach the most distant villages which are expected to attend. When the original messengers return to their home village, they tell the chief the results. The message they bring him is invariably favorable; they say that the guests are all going to come. After all his messengers have returned, the chief himself goes from house to house and tells the people that everyone is going to come.

Every morning and evening until the last day the speaker speaks from the top of the ceremonial house, reminding the people of the number of days left before they must entertain their guests. The gathering of the food is left to the judgment of the people; the speaker gives no specific orders. On the last day before the fiesta the visitors come, usually arriving in the afternoon. When the first one arrives, the speaker gives a long shout from the top of the ceremonial house. He calls to the visitors: "Keep coming; just go right inside"; meaning, of course, inside the ceremonial house. The speaker remains on top of the ceremonial house and continues to shout welcome to the incoming visitors. The chief, in the meantime, goes from house to house telling the people to get some food ready to feed the visitors. Then the speaker makes a speech from the top of the ceremonial house to his own people. He shouts: "Bring the food here, bring the food here. We are going to feed them."

Then everyone brings the food which he has prepared to the front of the ceremonial house. The speaker counts the visitors inside the ceremonial house, then goes out and looks over the food and divides it up for the different groups. The speaker selects men and women to carry in the food. The food is not handed directly to the visitors but is turned over to the chief of each group. The groups are served from right to left around the interior of the



ceremonial house, each group being given all of its food before the next one is served. The visitors are not arranged in any special order within the ceremonial house; each group takes its place where it pleases. There is no place of honor or anything of that sort. The speaker leads in the waiters who carry the food. As each lot of food is brought in for the respective groups of people, the speaker says to the chief of the visiting group: "Here is your food, now you can feed your people." Each visiting chief has with him his own speaker and courier. He tells them to divide the food among his people. This is not done, however, until every group within the ceremonial house has its food, when it is divided simultaneously for each group. Then all eat.

The people do not play games or dance, but spend the evening and night visiting, talking, and laughing, the people of the village coming in and visiting with the guests. The chief of the village who is giving the fiesta calls on each of the visiting chiefs in turn, telling them what the dance is going to be and conversing.

In the early morning hours two clowns (*woochi*) dress in the bush. They cover themselves all over with white paint and tie cocoon rattles (*sokossa*) on their ankles. A feather ornament (*sonolu*) is fastened in the hair, sticking out directly in front (Barrett and Gifford, pl. 72, fig. 5). The hair itself is held in place with a net. About sunrise, after the visitors have arisen, the two clowns come in from the bush. Instead of entering the ceremonial house directly they circle it four times, then they enter. The visitors are now at breakfast. The two clowns, once they are within the dance house, start to run around counter-clockwise, begging for something to eat. They do not actually ask for food, but each one holds out his hand and exclaims "Wo!" They walk on people, walk between people when they are talking, go up very close to people they see eating, and play many other annoying tricks. Invariably everyone refuses to give them food. However, after making the rounds once or twice they discover something they like and now proceed to sneak up quietly. If the owner of the food is not watching, each clown seizes what he wishes, exclaims "Wo!" and dashes out through the door before he can be stopped. This food the clowns carry to the *kuksuyu* dancers, who are in the bush preparing for their dance. In due time the clowns return to steal more food. The people, however, have learned a lesson and many of them hide the food so that it cannot be stolen.

After two or three incursions into the ceremonial house for stealing food, the two clowns come in and start to shove back from the fire the pine needles with which the floor is covered. They do this in a very unceremonious fashion, knocking people over, throwing pine needles on them, and making themselves generally obnoxious. They make this clearing for the *kilaki totoyu* dance, which is to take place about eleven o'clock in the morning.

The home people now come into the ceremonial house to see the dance. The chiefs of the various villages have been talking with each other, but they now proceed to move their people back towards the sides of the room so the dancers will have space. The dance is then performed. (p. 290).

While the dance is taking place, the two clowns play about among the audience, sometimes going outside, but spending most of their time within the dance house. Sometimes they climb up on top and look in through the smoke hole. It is their business to watch and pick up any feathers that may fall off the dancers.

After the *kilaki totoyu* dance is over the clowns remain among the people, running about and now and then giving

the characteristic exclamation "Wo!" It is their duty to see that no one goes to sleep. If they catch a person sleeping, they shake a rattle in his ear. Meanwhile the singer and drummer go out with the *totoyu* dancers to the singing-place in the bush and bring back another set of dresses for the *wehena* dance (pp. 288-289). During the dances and the intervals between, the clowns are constantly on the move. They watch for feathers during the *wehena* just as in every dance. After the *wehena*, the dancers retire to the dressing-place in the bush, where they wash and dress in their ordinary clothes again. The dancers in the whole series of dances at this fiesta are almost exclusively natives of the village.

Following the *wehena* dance and the luncheon, the afternoon is spent playing games both inside the ceremonial house and outdoors. The luncheon consists of food left over from the night before. Everyone does not eat at the same time; each group eats when it is ready. Gambling commences immediately after luncheon and lasts until supertime. It commences with guessing hand games, and a dice game played with half acorns, called *chuta*. Another game, *olcha*, is played with forty-two small wormwood sticks, which are held together and then separated into two handfuls. The opponent guesses the number in each hand. The sticks are counted by fours, and the opponent pays for the number of points that he misses.

The clowns continue to steal at every opportunity, and especially at mealtimes. A person may be cooking meat at the fire and placing it in a basket as fast as it is cooked. A clown sneaks up behind the cook and steals the meat as fast as it is placed in the basket, until he is discovered, when he scampers out with it. Throughout the day the clowns are on the lookout for sleepy people and wake them by shaking in their ears a single cocoon rattle which they carry on a stick. This rattle, when not in use, is carried in the clown's tail, which is about two feet in length and composed of feathers. Each clown wears a *sonolu* feather ornament in his hair. He also carries one in his hand, this has, tied to its handle, a whistle about two inches long and half an inch in diameter, made of a piece of split elderwood, the halves of which are hollowed out to make a sort of trough. Between these halves is stretched tightly a piece of skin (without feathers) from the scalp of the California woodpecker, and the whole whistle is bound with deer sinew. This whistle is used by the clowns when they discover a dancer eating alone or in his home, for dancers are forbidden food until the dance is over, when they are all supposed to eat together. If the clown sees the dancer eating, he blows his whistle, and the dancer immediately throws away any food he has. Sometimes a clown, in his hustle and bustle, loses his whistle, or a dancer who wishes to eat on the sly may surreptitiously cut it off without the clown's knowing. If a clown with no whistle discovers anyone eating, he steals very quietly up to the breaker of the taboo and places a bird head from his necklace alongside the dancer. When the dancer sees it, he quits eating. The bird head is returned to the clown later. Each clown wears a necklace of bird heads and bird skins, sometimes of the California jay. The clowns are no respecters of persons. They even go so far as to awaken a chief if they see him sleeping. If the clown himself is seen eating by a dancer, the dancer blows his double bone whistle and the clown has to stop eating; hence clowns usually steal away a couple of miles with food before they attempt to eat it. The first evening of the *kuksuyu* dance, the two clowns already mentioned are joined by two more. From that time on there are four clowns.

Every afternoon is spent, like the first one, in playing games. The *totoyu* and *wehena* may be danced each day.



In the afternoon two chiefs may decide to have a football game, at the suggestion or wish of their people. Each picks out his team of fifteen men. Two balls of deerhide, about a foot in diameter, are used, both being painted red with moke (probably red ochre) (Barrett and Gifford, p. 224). They are stuffed with soaproot fibers and sewed together with deerhide string. The ball itself is called posko and the game, witpo. Two men on each side form goal posts, the length of the field being about one hundred yards. The space between the goal men, where the players pass through, is called wowa, and is indicated by a line on the ground connecting the two goal men of each side. Each contestant tries to put its ball over the opponent's goal. The ball is started from the left-hand man at the goal, and is kicked first by a man of the side to which it belongs, who comes up from behind the goal line. Once the ball is in the field, it is thrown with the hands as well as kicked. The game gives plenty of opportunity for gambling. Each time a ball is put over a goal the betting is settled, and new bets are in order for the next ball.

Another game, called amta, is for women. It is played with a single ball about the size of a baseball. There are usually nineteen women and one man on each side. The length of the field is the same as for the football game just described. The goals, however, are marked by long sticks, two at each end. The two men who play in this game are called pochupek. The ball is not kicked, but is struck with a racket.

In all the games, each chief stands at the goal of his side. Sometimes sides are taken by the two moieties (Gifford, 1916, p. 145). This, however, is not the rule, except in the vicinity of Groveland. The games vary from day to day. On one day a football game may be in progress outside and a hand game going on within the ceremonial house. Still another game, bokup, or javelin-throwing, is played quite frequently. The javelin used is about four feet in length. Its blade is sharp on both edges but has a rounded end. The javelin is thrown underhand so that it strikes the ground and rises again, traveling for a long distance. Shooting contests with the bow and arrow are also common.

The second night of the fiesta is the initial night of the kuksuyu performance. Late each afternoon, someone who can handle feather ornaments without their harming him dons the kuksuyu costume. Sometimes the chief himself does this. The man who is to put on the costume is selected by the kukusbe. Both the act about to be performed and the man who performs it are called sola. The sola wearing the kuksuyu costume circles the ceremonial house four times, blowing the elderwood whistle at intervals, getting closer with each circuit. He holds the whistle vertically below the lower lip, instead of obliquely as the kukusbe does when he dances. The first circuit of the house is made at a distance of over a hundred yards, the fourth and last about twenty-five yards away. The man now circles the ceremonial house four times from right to left, keeping very close to the wall. He is followed throughout by two clowns who are on the lookout for any feathers that may drop out of his costume.

He then climbs up on the roof close to the smoke hole, where he blows his whistle four times. Then he returns to the dressing-place in the bush, where he takes off the costume. This ceremony is said to be performed so that the people will know what the dance is going to be. It is repeated each evening by the same performer just about sundown.

After the sola has returned to the dressing-place the speaker calls all the dancers to the chief's house to pre-

pare for the night's performance. People who have remained outside the ceremonial house now enter and take their positions so that they may witness the dances. The costumes are now taken to the house of the chief, who remains at his home while the dancers dress there. In the meantime the speaker joins the audience at the ceremonial house but makes no speech. When the dancers are about ready, the chief precedes them to the ceremonial house.

The first dancers to don their costumes are the kukusbe, mochilbe, and osabe. The performers in other dances dress at the chief's house a little later in the evening. The singer leads the kuksuyu dancers from the chief's house to the ceremonial house and sings as he goes, keeping time with his hands, not with a clapper. He swings his arms in an arc, clapping his hands first on one side, then the other. When he claps to the right, the right hand is on the bottom; when he claps to the left, the right hand is on top. As he walks along he changes the words of his song (which is untranslatable), and with each change he reverses the motion of his arms, swinging them in an arc from side to side. The final phrase of the song comes as they reach the door of the ceremonial house.

Just before the dancers enter the ceremonial house, the clowns, now four in number, sing. The song has a few words, which may be translated as follows: "I am from the east; from the middle; from the mountains; from down in the ground; from up in the sky." In the song they also tell the people from the east, west, north, and south to have a good time during the ceremony.

The singer, drummer, and drum major, in ordinary dress, enter before the dancers. All three go to the back of the ceremonial house and sit down in front of the drum with their backs to the fire. As they sit there the singer sings twice the song he has sung as the dancers approached the ceremonial house. Then he sings the regular kuksuyu dance song twice, after which all three performers arise. The singer steps to his regular place to the right of the foot drum, the drummer takes his position on it, while the drum major stands to its left. Once the dance has started, no more spectators are allowed to enter the ceremonial house.

When the singer starts singing, the kukusbe dances in backwards, followed by the mochilbe and osabe, also dancing backwards. Kukusbe takes up his position to the left of the door, the mochilbe in front of the door, the osabe to the right of the door, all facing the entrance. The singer stops his song as soon as the three are inside. He begins again, clapping his hands to mark the time, and the drummer starts to drum. At the same time, the drum major exclaims three times "Bau wai!" Just as he ends the third exclamation, the singer exclaims "Uiya," and the drum major stops, but the drummer keeps on. As the singer exclaims "Uiya," he changes his song, reversing the motion of his hands at the same time. After the change in the song, the drum major exclaims "Bau wai!" and keeps on exclaiming until the singer changes the song again. The kukusbe starts to dance across in front of the mochilbe and osabe, between them and the door, facing forward and passing in front of them and moving over to the right of the osabe, on the right. As he nears the osabe he swings in a quarter turn to the right so that he is facing the fire when he comes to a standstill. Now the mochilbe and osabe make a quarter turn to the left and dance, facing forward, to the kukusbe's original position, where they, too, swing to the right so as to face the fire. They then dance sideways to the right, passing in front of kukusbe, their backs of course being to him, for they are facing



the fire just as he is. The mochilbe is in the lead. After the osabe has passed the kukusbe, the latter starts to dance towards the drum also.

Holding his cane horizontally in his right hand, the mochilbe flexes his knees slightly as he lifts his feet and stamps. His arms are at his sides, but he lifts them a little so that his elbows stick out and as he does so he turns his head to one side. At the same time he blows a blast on his whistle. He and the osabe both dance sideways, facing the fire, as they pass the second position of the kukusbe near the door. The osabe blows the whistle at each step and lifts the goosedown boa which he carries, raising his hands alternately. As soon as the osabe has passed the kukusbe, he stops blowing the whistle and starts to dance more vigorously. The osabe and mochilbe continue to dance sideways up to the drum. The kukusbe follows them, also dancing sideways but turning to each side as he goes, so that he is actually making turns of more than one hundred and eighty degrees. He sticks out his buttocks as he dances and blows vigorously on the elderwood whistle held under his right arm. With his left hand he holds up his cloak in front. All three dancers go past the drum and down towards the door, always keeping to the right. As they near the door, the mochilbe steps towards it and proceeds to mark time in one place, still facing the fire and dancing as described above. The kukusbe now steps closer to the fire and dances past the osabe and mochilbe, thus taking the lead. The mochilbe remains in his place, marking time. The osabe, however, follows the kukusbe to the right side of the ceremonial house and stops there. The kukusbe dances on and, as he approaches the drum, the drum major exclaims "Bau wai!" very rapidly a number of times. When the kukusbe reaches the drum, the singer exclaims "Uiya"; all movement and sound cease, and the kukusbe swings far enough around to the right so as to face the drum. He now stands in front of the drum with his back to the fire. This completes the elaborate prelude to the main performance.

In the silence the kukusbe walks to one of the two posts which support the roof, near the drum. He looks at the post and blows a blast on his elderwood whistle. Then he blows a second blast and whirls around to face the drum. He walks to the other post near the drum and repeats the performance. Then he stands in front of the drum again, as at the end of the prelude. Now the drum major exclaims "Bau wai!" three times, slowly, while the drum is beaten very slowly and the singer sings briefly, ending with the expression "Uiya." In a moment the drum major exclaims again, repeating the exclamation a little faster this time, the drummer and singer keeping time. This is the signal for the dance to start again. Now begins the real dance.

The kukusbe now moves back and forth in front of the drum, and the mochilbe in front of the door. The osabe dances in one place on the right side of the ceremonial house. The movement is much the same as in the prelude, except that the kukusbe now turns in all directions. The mochilbe dances back and forth sideways near the door, facing the fire, without turning. This is kept up until the singer stops the dancing with his signal, "Uiya." In the interval the kukusbe does not look at the posts again. The dance is performed four times, with the usual intervening rests.

After the fourth time comes the finale. At first there is no musical accompaniment nor does the drum major exclaim. The osabe starts to go out first. He faces the drum from his position on the right of the fire, blows four

slow blasts on his whistle, and then shuffles rapidly up to the drum, whistling in time to his shuffling. Arrived at the drum, he kicks it with his right foot, then turns quickly to the right and walks back to his original position. As he turns to do so, the singer and drum major exclaim "Hiah" the syllables being very long drawn out. This performance is repeated three times, making the ceremonial four. Meanwhile the other two dancers stand still, the mochilbe near the door, the kukusbe at the left post, near the drum. Returning to his position for the fourth time, the osabe now starts to shuffle up to the drum, in silence except for a single very long drawn out "Hi" from the drummer, singer, and drum major. The osabe shuffles rapidly from the drum towards the door, facing forward and moving to the right of the fire. He shakes his knees and body and whistles rapidly. On the way to the door, he revolves three times, and finally goes out backwards. The kukusbe now dances out following exactly the same route, revolving in the same places, and whistling continuously. He, too, goes out backwards, following directly after the osabe.

The mochilbe, who till now has been stationed near the door, runs around to the left (clockwise) up to the drum as the kukusbe starts to leave it. He dances around behind the kukusbe, but does not turn three times as the kukusbe and the osabe have done. After the kukusbe and the osabe have danced out, the mochilbe continues to move clockwise around to the drum, without attempting to go out. Arrived at the drum, he kneels down in front of it, facing the fire. As he does so the drum major, singer, and drummer exclaim "Hi!" very long drawn out. The people now shout at the mochilbe and make fun of him, saying that he is angry because kukusyu has stolen his girl. The mochilbe makes a move as though about to get up, and the people all exclaim "He's going now." But he merely changes from a kneeling to a sitting position, with his legs crossed in front of him. The people shout at him still more and say that he is angry. He makes another move to get up, but instead, sits down with his legs straight in front of him. All this time he is holding his cane in vertical position, one end on the ground. The singer, drummer, and drum major now shout at him and tell him he is jealous. Throughout all this the mochilbe does not crack a smile. Then the three singers say: "We will try him"; and they exclaim: "Hi! Hi! Hi!" The mochilbe makes another feint at getting up, but sits down again amid the shouts of the people accusing him of being jealous because kukusyu ran away with his girl. The singer, drummer, and drum major try four times to make him get up. They are successful with the fourth attempt. He arises, holding his arms stiff at his sides, and walks clockwise toward the door. The singer, drummer, and drum major exclaim: "Hi! Hi! Hi!" as he moves and the audience makes fun of him all the way out. He whistles with each step, making three turns as he goes out backwards as the others have done.

After the mochilbe has gone out the singer walks back and forth in front of the drum singing a song called the wausi song. He does this while the drummer and drum major, who are now sitting down, exclaim "Hoh! Hoh! Hoh!" The song is sung four times, ending each time with the long drawn out "Hi!" The purpose of the song is to remove the supernatural influence of the feathers which have passed in front of the drum. If this song were not sung, any ordinary person who passed in front of the drum would become ill, for the feathers have contaminated the atmosphere. After this song the singer and the drum major go out, but the drummer remains. The same singer returns for the next dance, the salute, and the same drummer also takes part in that.



## SALUTE ( WITH KUKSUYU)

The salute dance, which usually follows the kuksuyu, may be called the katydid dance, since salute is the Miwok word for that insect. After the kuksuyu dance the singer goes to the dressing-place in the bush where four men are preparing for the salute dance. They do not dress at the chief's house since they have taken all their paraphernalia to the place in the bush. The name for the salute dancer is salutbe. The same drummer and singer who have accompanied the kuksuyu furnish the music for the salute dance too. No woman takes part in this dance.

Each of the four salute dancers wears a headdress of hawk feathers somewhat like that of the kuksuyu, although this one is a little more in the style of a Plains Indian war bonnet. It consists of a ring of feathers around the head rather than a mass of feathers sticking out in every direction, as in the kuksuyu headdress. Both styles, however, are called yache. The hair is held against the head with a net. The dancers do not wear flicker headbands, nor do they carry anything in their hands. Each dancer wears a feather cape on his back. The bodies of the dancers are painted in front from head to toe with horizontal white stripes. Stripes are also painted on the arms, but not on the back, which is mostly covered by the cape. Each dancer has a double bone whistle on a cord around his neck.

The singer leads the dancers to the ceremonial house from the dressing-place, singing a special song (not translatable) and accompanying himself with an elderwood clapper. He continues the song as they enter the ceremonial house. The dancers merely walk in; they do not dance. They walk around the room, counterclockwise, to a position behind the drum, between the drum and the wall of the building, where they form a line facing the rear wall.

When they are in position, the singer resumes the song which he sang outside. He now passes in front of the drum and leads the four dancers out from behind it, moving counterclockwise around the ceremonial house. The dancers follow him, and, as he reaches the drum again, they pass behind it as before. This time, when they get behind it, they reach up and grasp the rafters overhead, but do not take their feet off the ground. As they grasp the rafters they make a churring noise and turn their heads from side to side, in imitation of the katydid. Throughout the performance the drummer dances on the drum.

After the dancers have held on to the rafters for a short time, the singer leads them around the ceremonial house again. This time they follow him on hands and knees, single file. As they proceed, they swing their heads from side to side, making the churring noise continually. Sometimes they lift their heads up and back, and roll them around in a complete circle. As he leads them around, the singer continues the song which he sang outside.

This time the dancers stop in front of the drum. The leader stands, but the remaining three still kneel, facing the drum. The leader now dances back and forth sideways in front of the drum. He dances with his knees slightly flexed and his arms at his sides, turning his head from side to side, and whistling as he does so. When the singer changes the words of his song, the leader revolves once to the right. His three followers, still on their hands and knees, are arranged one behind the other, so that the one at the end is close to the fire.

As the leader dances back and forth, the singer now sings the regular salute dance song. Neither of the songs for this dance can be translated. The singing and dancing

is kept up for four periods, with intervals between the periods. Each time the singer stops he ends with the exclamation "Uiya!" which is the signal for a rest. The three dancers remain quietly on their hands and knees. This ends the main part of the dance.

After the last rest interval, the singer takes the lead. The dance leader gets down on his hands and knees like his fellows and all four crawl after the singer, swinging their heads and churring as before. They proceed to the right, that is, counterclockwise, as usual. When the singer gets to the door, he steps to the left of it, while the dancers crawl out. Then he goes back to the drum and walks back and forth in front of it, singing the wausi song described above in connection with the kuksuyu dance. He sings this for the customary four periods. Both he and the drummer remain inside the ceremonial house.

## UCHUPELA

During the salute dance the four uchupela dancers have been getting ready at the dressing-place. A dancer in the uchupela is called uchumpe. They are all men; no woman takes part in this dance. After the fourth rendition of the wausi song the singer sings the salute song again. He is standing; the drummer is seated. Suddenly a clown comes running in and with his right hand seizes the singer's left arm. He half drags and half pulls the singer out of the ceremonial house to the dressing-place in the bush. The singer then brings in the uchupela dancers, who follow him, walking in single file.

Each dancer wears on his head an eagle or vulture feather wound around with string and so fixed that it curves in a semicircle. Held in place by a band which passes around the head, it is fastened so that its base rests on the upper part of the nose, the feather projecting in front of the dancer like a sort of proboscis. At the tip is fastened a small square abalone pendant about a half-inch wide. Each dancer wears a flicker headband across his brow, standing out on each side of his head. The hair is held in place with a net. The front of the body, the face, arms, and legs are covered with white spots. There is no paint on the back. The dancer wears a cape tied around the body under the armpits and hanging down the back just below the shoulders. Each carries a single bone whistle on a cord around his neck.

When the dancers are led into the ceremonial house by the singer, they walk in and face the drum. The singer sings the uchupela song as they come from the dressing-place and enter the ceremonial house, but he stops singing when they reach the drum. In a moment, however, he begins again and, to the accompaniment of the drum, leads the dancers around to the door. They do not dance but merely walk after him. The singer beats time with his elderwood clapper, which is of exceptional length, being about two and a half feet long. As the singer leads the dancers, the drummer exclaims "Hi! Hi! Hi!" rapidly. At the end he opens his mouth wide and exclaims "We!" quite long drawn out, breaking the sound by tapping his crooked finger against his lips. The sound might be compared to the bleating of a sheep.

The singer, who is in the lead near the door, taps the ground with his long clapper. The dance leader flexes his knees and shakes them rapidly, at the same time blowing his whistle and swinging his head slowly from side to side. Then he jumps to the place tapped by the singer. There he kneels down and whistles and swings his head. The signal for the jump is a change in the song. The dancer remains kneeling until the singer changes the song again, when he



risers and continues to dance with flexed knees, dancing ahead a short distance. Then the singer repeats the performance with the second man. By the time the second one is through, the leader has danced a little ahead, with bent knees, shuffling steps, arms at sides, whistling and turning his head from side to side. He now swings to the right (counterclockwise) back to the spot from which he jumped; this movement brings him closer to the fire. He does not, however, go around the fire but passes between it and the other dancers. The singer now taps the ground in the same place again, and the leader jumps for the second time as before; but when he gets up from the kneeling position he continues to dance face first towards the drum. The second man repeats the leader's actions. While the first and second men have been jumping, the third and fourth have been standing with their arms at their sides, whistling, keeping their knees trembling, and turning their heads from side to side in time with their whistling. After the second dancer has jumped the second time, the third and fourth men go through the same movements. They then dance, in the same fashion as the first and second, up to the drum, the singer bringing up the rear. The leader, who has arrived at the drum first, has gone to its left end and now lies on his belly with his head to the drum and his feet to the fire. The second, third, and fourth dancers throw themselves down beside him, lying side by side. The singer now stands at their feet near the fire. He stops singing and the drummer ceases drumming.

While this has been going on, two clowns have been sitting one on each side of the door. They now run up to the drum, one on each side of the fire. Each has a bird's head (si'i) in his hand, with which he rubs the backs of the two dancers on his side, four times from head to foot. He rubs one man four times and then proceeds to the other, beginning each time with the man lying on the outside. Throughout this performance everyone is silent.

After they have rubbed the dancers with the birds' heads, the clowns return to their places on either side of the door. The singer and drummer resume the music. The leader of the dancers whistles a number of times, stands up, and faces the house post nearest him. The singer points to the post with his clapper as though showing it to the leader. The singer says: "Lile he haye!" meaning "Jump up there!" The dancer jumps on to the post and hangs on by his hands and feet. He whistles and looks around the post; then, when the singer taps the ground with his clapper, he jumps down. The leader now stands beside the post, knees flexed and shaking, and blows his whistle. The fourth dancer now arises and faces the pole nearest him; on a signal from the singer as before, he repeats the actions of the leader. He jumps down when the singer taps the ground with his clapper, and stands beside the pole, behaving in the same way as the leader. The leader now dances around counterclockwise until he is between the two posts on the left side of the house. The singer walks over to the second post on that side, the one nearest the door. There the performance of jumping up on the post is repeated by the leader under the direction of the singer. The leader now walks counterclockwise around to the other side of the house and shows the fourth dancer the post on the right side, near the door. At a signal from the singer, the fourth dancer now jumps up on this post.

The second and third dancers are still lying on the ground in front of the drum. The leader and the fourth dancer, standing by the posts upon which they have jumped, whistle and dance without changing positions. The singer stands near the drum in his usual position. The second

and third dancers arise simultaneously and look towards the fire. Then they dance sideways back and forth in front of the drum, facing the fire. The leader and the fourth dancer, who are on opposite sides of the fire, dance towards the drum, turning in every direction as they do so. When they arrive at the drum, the music stops. All four now stand in a line facing the drum. This concludes the main part of the dance.

The singer and drummer start the music for the conclusion of the performance, and all four of the dancers dance, facing the drum. As the singer begins his song, the drummer exclaims "Hi! Hi! Hi!" The leader and the second dancer dance in counterclockwise direction, while the third and fourth dancers move clockwise, the pairs passing on each side of the fire. They dance sideways, facing the fire and moving very slowly, for they shuffle rather than step. As they proceed towards the door they whistle and turn their heads from side to side. When each pair has gone a little over halfway to the door, they work back towards the drum. As they approach the drum, the drummer exclaims: "Hi! Hi! Hi! Hi! Hi!" On the last syllable the dancing and the music stop. This performance of dancing halfway out and then back to the drum is repeated three times, making four times in all, with four rests at the drum. After the fourth interval the dancers go straight to the door without doubling back. They go through the door sideways without making any turns; it makes no difference which pair of dancers goes out first. The musicians remain at their posts.

#### AKANTOTO

This dance may rightfully be called the creeper dance; akantoto is the name for either the creeper (*Certhia familiaris*) or one of the species of nuthatch (*Sitta*). I could not definitely decide which; perhaps the term includes both. There is only one dancer, called akantbe. A drummer and a singer furnish the music for this dance. The drummer acts as drum major, directing the dancer; the singer has an extra long elderwood clapper, about two and a half feet long. Both have remained at their stations in the dance house after the preceding dance, the uchupela.

A white clown comes running in during the intermission and silently seizes the singer by the left arm with his right hand, pulling him out of the dance house to the dressing-place in the bush, where the dancer has been getting ready. The drummer remains sitting at his post.

The dancer has a headdress (yache) like the one used in the salute dance, and wears a cape on his back, tied around his body under the arms. He also, of course, wears a piece of buckskin about his middle. His face is painted with white horizontal stripes, but there are none on his body. He carries nothing in his hands, but has a double bone whistle fastened about his neck. The dancer has rubbed himself all over with powdered human legbones, to make him immune from the heat in the upper part of the ceremonial house, where he mostly performs. The powdered bones are obtained from a hole near Vallecito, Calaveras County, where the rock giant Yayali is said to have thrown the bones of people he devoured. These bones are also used for medicine. (For further information about caves, see Heizer, 1952.)

The singer, followed by the single dancer, walks in, singing the dance song, which cannot be translated. They pass to the right of the fire, the singer taking his place at the right of the drum, where he stands. The dancer, turning and looking in all directions and jumping about and whistling, dances up to the drum, where he lies down



prone in front of it, feet to the fire, head to the drum. The singer now leaves his place and, singing, starts to walk to the right around the fire, passing in front of the drum. The dancer gets up and again dances behind the singer. They circle the fire, the singer then stepping to his former position and the dancer dancing up to the drum.

In this prelude the drum has not been used. Now the drummer starts to drum and calls, "Hi! Hi! Hi! Hi!" a number of times, keeping time with the singing. As the drummer speaks, the dancer jumps on to the right-hand post near the drum and clings, head down. Gripping the post firmly with his legs, he lets go with his hands, looks around the post, and whistles. Plainly his antics are in imitation of the creeper. After a bit he slides straight down the post without any further signal from either the singer or the drummer.

He goes to the next post to the left and repeats his performance at the same signal from the drummer. He then continues clockwise to the other two posts and performs on each. Then he goes to the drum and lies down as before. Two white clowns come in, one passing on each side of the fire. Each rubs him with a bird's head four times down the back from head to foot. The music has stopped during this part of the ceremony, which is performed in silence.

Now as the singing and drumming commence again, the drummer ejaculates, "Hi! Hi! Hi! Hi!" several times as before. The dancer, at this signal, again climbs the first post to the right near the drum. He climbs up among the rafters, regardless of the heat, whistling continually. At times he hangs from the rafters and when he gets close to the smoke hole, he hangs head down by his feet, still whistling. Then he goes out the smoke hole, returns, climbs about some more, and finally comes down to the floor by the same post he went up. The drumming and singing continue throughout.

The music stops. The dancer again lies down prone and the two white clowns rub him again with the birds' heads. As the music begins, the dancer dances around the room to the right, whistling and acting as he did in the prelude. At a signal from the drummer, he now jumps again on to the nearest post to the right. Clinging to the post with his legs, he lets go with his hands and turns over backwards, so as to hang head down with his back to the post. He slides straight down in this position. Then he repeats the performance on the other three posts, taking them in order clockwise; each time the drummer exclaims, "Hi! Hi! Hi! Hi!" as the signal for him to jump. When he has slid down all four posts backwards, the dancer continues clockwise to the drum, where he lies down as before. The two white clowns rub him again.

This concludes the main part of the dance. The dancer now gets up and dances out counterclockwise in the same fashion as in the prelude. When near the door he turns to the right and dances out backwards. This is done without any signal from the singer or drummer, who both remain in the dance house after the dancer has departed. The music ceases as the dancer goes out.

#### UZUMATI

The uzumati dance may be called in English the grizzly bear dance, since the dancers plainly imitate this animal. One woman and four men take part; a male bear dancer is called an uzumpbe. The music is furnished by a singer, drummer, and drum major, all dressed in ordinary garb. The singer and drummer are the same as in the lileusi dance; they have both remained within the ceremonial house.

When the dancers are about ready to come in from the dressing-place a clown comes into the ceremonial house after the singer and pulls him out by the arm, as in the dances previously described.

The unique feature of the costume of the four male dancers is the imitation bear claws of obsidian. From the informant's description these are clearly nothing more nor less than the celebrated Stockton "curves" excavated in mounds near the city of Stockton, San Joaquin County (Holmes, pl. 25), and also in archaeological sites in the Southern Maidu or Nisenan area. The obsidian "bear claws" used by the Miwok are the same as these problematical objects from the mounds. The identity of the Miwok bear claws with the Stockton "curves" is further corroborated by the report that the uzumati dance was borrowed from Yokuts people to the west.

Each male dancer wears four of these curved obsidian blades on his left hand. Each blade is bound with deer sinew in the split end of a stick about the diameter of a lead pencil, and the four sticks with the blades are then tied together with string made of blackbird (wankule) feathers to form an imitation bear paw (sopolo). This is fastened to the dancer's left hand, the obsidian blades curving inward like claws.

Each male dancer wears several necklaces of limpet shells of various sizes. These necklaces hang down below the waist in front, and suspended from them are ten large abalone pendants about four by six inches. Each dancer has a stick about a foot long which he holds crosswise in his mouth, like a bit, and this stick is decorated with ten narrow abalone pendants. A single pendant hangs on each side of the stick near the corner of the dancer's mouth, and beyond this at each end of the stick are four long narrow abalone pendants, hung lengthwise one below the other. The hair is held in place with a net. Each man wears a feather headdress (yache) and a feather cape hanging just below his shoulders, the tie strings running around under the arms and across the chest. A skirt made of split tule stems is tied around his waist. He carries a feather wand (makki) in his right hand (Barrett and Gifford, pl. 72, figs. 1-4). The four male dancers are not painted.

The single woman dancer wears a goosedown boa around her head, the ends hanging down her back to about the waist. She carries a makki feather wand in each hand. Her face is painted solid red. In her ears are quail-crest earplugs from which hang pendants of shell beads and abalone which reach to her breast. She wears a belt, a necklace, and a headband of shell beads, and her buckskin dress is also ornamented with shells. She does not dress at the dressing-place but puts on her costume and paints her face inside the ceremonial house, on the right side of the fire. The drum major dresses her.

The singer leads the four male dancers to the ceremonial house, singing as he comes. He leaves the dancers outside and walks into the ceremonial house himself, up to the drum. The drum major has entered ahead of him to adorn the female dancer. The singer stands to the right, the drum major to the left of the drum.

The singer begins the dance song; the drummer stands motionless on the drum. The male dancers now come in. As they enter, the woman stands up at her position on the right side of the house. She dances in that place throughout the performance. The male dancers walk in time to the singing, stepping all together. They take two steps, bringing the feet together on the second step. At each second step, when the feet are together, the dancers stop for a moment and make a growling sound in imitation of bears. At the same time, they stick first the left hand, then the right hand out in front, all four putting out the left hand to-



gether, then all four the right. The dancers shake their heads as they growl. Starting from the door they circle the ceremonial house four times, with corresponding stops, not at the drum as usual, but at the door. With each stop the singer stops singing. After the fourth stop at the door the dancers proceed up to the drum in the same fashion.

At the drum they kneel in a row side by side, all facing the fire. When the singer exclaims "Yaha!" they all extend the left hand and lean to the left. He exclaims again and they repeat the performance. Then he exclaims twice more and they do the same with the right hand, leaning to the right. After that the singer exclaims "Yehe!" and they all bend forward once, holding the forearms horizontally, with the elbows at the sides. Then the singer calls "Wile!" and all four arise and revolve once counterclockwise.

They then start to dance around the ceremonial house, beginning to shuffle with the left foot; the left hand is extended. As they do this, they look to the left and growl. The performance is then repeated with the right hand. All of this time the stick with the abalone pendants is carried in the mouth and the pendants rattle against the large abalone pendants on the necklaces. The ceremonial house is now circled four times in this fashion, with corresponding stops at the drum. Throughout these four circuits the singer sings "Hui! Hui! Hui! Hui!" only stopping when the dancers arrive at the drum. After the fourth stop at the drum the singer sings the regular dance song and the drum major exclaims "Hoh! Hoh!" the last syllable being very long drawn out. When the drum major exclaims thus, the drummer starts to drum for the first time. At the same time the woman dancer at the right side of the ceremonial house lifts her hands with the two feather wands alternately. She stands in one place but keeps rising on her toes and lowering herself, coming down hard on her heels.

The four men dancers begin to dance around the fire again. They dance in a stooping position with buttocks slightly protruded, inclining the head from side to side and looking downwards. As they near the door the drum major exclaims "Huiya!" and they straighten up and dance erect, turning from side to side. During this part of the dance, that is, after the fourth stop at the drum, they swing the hands upward toward the face, moving the arms alternately. The arms are crooked at the elbows.

They continue counterclockwise past the door and towards the drum again, but as they do this their whole manner of dancing changes. They now run at the people and threaten them with the obsidian claws, making vicious swipes at them, and growling very loudly. The singing and drumming are kept up throughout this performance. To add to the excitement the drum major now exclaims "Hoh! Hoh!" as above. Very shortly he slows his exclamations as the leader approaches the drum. When the dancers reach the front of the drum, the drum major exclaims "Huiya!" and the dancers stop with their backs to the fire. They perform this threatening dance movement four times, as they circle the ceremonial house. The first and third times around, they threaten the people on the right side, the second and fourth times the people on the left side of the house.

After the fourth circuit of the ceremonial house, ending with a stop at the drum (the eighth stop or interval for the entire dance), comes the finale of the dance. The singer starts his song again and two of the dancers go out, dancing sideways, one on each side of the fire. They dance bent over, landing hard on the heels, knees flexed, buttocks protruding slightly, hands raised alternately

toward the face. Each dancer on arriving at the door turns counterclockwise and goes out backwards. The second pair of dancers repeat the actions of the first pair, dancing toward the door on opposite sides of the fire, turning at the door and backing out in the same way. It does not matter which dancer goes out first but the two pairs follow the same order; if the first dancer to go out is the dancer on the right side of the fire, the right-hand man of the second pair also goes out before his partner. While the dancers make their exit, the drum major keeps exclaiming "Hoh! Hoh!" and the woman continues to dance in her place. When the four dancers have gone out, the woman walks out. The singer, drummer, and drum major remain behind.

The two songs for the uzumati dance, one sung outside, one inside, the ceremonial house, cannot be translated.

## LILEUSI

This dance is performed by one man, who must be both an acrobat and a ventriloquist. There is a singer, but no drummer, since the dancer occupies the drum part of the time. However, the drummer for the preceding dances acts as drum major in this dance. The dancer, called lilepke, has been rubbed all over with powdered human bones, like the akantoto dancer. He wears a cape tied under his arms and hanging down his back just below his shoulders. He has been sprinkled with water or saliva, so that down feathers will stick to him. His breast, abdomen, and upper arms are adorned with patches of white down from geese, vultures, or chicken hawks. His hair is held up with a net, and he wears a headdress of the war-bonnet type, like that worn in the salute dance. He is not painted, nor does he carry anything in his hands. A double bone whistle is fastened on a string about his neck.

One clown remains within the ceremonial house after the preceding dance, while one goes off to the dressing-place to help the dancer get ready. The clown inside the dance house collects unburnt ends of sticks and puts them on the fire to burn. Two more clowns act as police to keep inquisitive people away from the dressing-place. When the dancer is about ready, his clown assistant runs back to the ceremonial house, seizes the singer by the arm, and pulls him out to the dressing-place.

The clown who has been tending the fire inside the ceremonial house now runs out. He comes back in, followed by the singer and the dancer, one behind the other. The dancer blows his whistle rapidly as he enters. They now circle the fire four times, the singer singing, the dancer walking behind and blowing his whistle. As the clown goes around the fire he heaps up the coals with two pieces of pine bark. At the end of the fourth time around, when they stop at the drum, the dancer lies down on his right side, with his breast toward the fire and his back toward the drum, and blows his whistle once. Then he gets up and moves counterclockwise around the fire, blowing the whistle once on each of the other three sides of the fire; he has then blown it for all four cardinal directions. After that he pipes rapidly and jumps around the fire counterclockwise, covering it with dirt. He makes one circuit and comes to a stop in front of the drum. All this time the singer is singing. The drum major now goes to the fire and covers it more thoroughly with dirt.

All is now dark and, except for the singer's song, there is silence. The four clowns, who have all come into the dance house, are now passing through the audience making sure that no one is trying to sneak up towards the fire. These clowns now put a piece of hide over the smoke hole. They also make the people move back from the dancing area, since the feathers of the dancer's costume are supposed to



be very deadly to ordinary people. When all is dark and no one can see him enter, the kuksuyu comes in and stands in the doorway. He spreads his cloak so that no one can go in or out. He takes no part in the noise-making; his sole business is to guard the door. The dancers who have taken part in the previous dances are scattered about the ceremonial house in ordinary costume, each of them carrying a clown's whistle.

Another man, called hakai liwanokupo, has a hollow tube of elderwood about two feet in length and one inch in diameter. With this he makes a moaning noise like the call of a male elk. Later he simulates the call of an antelope. The dancers with the clown whistles use them in different ways. Some of them imitate the call of the red-shafted flicker, others quail calls, and still others the cries of various birds and beasts. They make these sounds at the same time. No female dancers are allowed to take part in this chorus of animal and bird calls. Meanwhile the dancer stands on the drum, and the singer has stopped singing. When the animal and bird calls have ceased, he resumes his song.

The singer stops his song four times. When he begins again after the fourth stop, he is accompanied by the rapid whistling of the dancer. When the whistling ceases, the singer exclaims "Hoh! Hoh! Hoh! Hoh!" four times, after which he starts to sing again. In his song he says: "I had better dance around high or else I will step upon the people." Then he sings a little bit more (the song is untranslatable). Again he says: "I had better walk around on the ground or I may step on the people." Following that he exclaims "Hau oh!" four times, and then "Yi!" very long drawn out. With this he stops singing. He exclaims several times quite rapidly: "Hai ye ha!" and after the last time the dancer whistles rapidly. A voice, apparently from under the drum, exclaims: "Hoh! Hoh! Hoh! Hoh!" The singer repeats "Hai ye ha!" six times, the dancer whistles, and the voice from under the drum again exclaims.

Next, the drum major exclaims "Hi! Hi! Hi!" rapidly several times. The dancer stamps hard on the drum and whistles. Continuing to whistle, he leaps and lands with a thud on the ground in front of kuksuyu at the door. The room is in total darkness and he apparently jumps entirely across the ceremonial house. In front of kuksuyu he pipes rapidly on his whistle. The drum major exclaims: "Hi! Hi! Hi!" again, and the dancer, still whistling, leaps on the drum again, apparently jumping across the ceremonial house. Standing on the drum he pipes rapidly. Then the drum major exclaims as before, which is the signal for the dancer to kick the drum again. Again he seems to fly through the air, whistling, landing apparently on the roof rafters near the smoke hole, on the side towards the door. Again he blows his whistle rapidly. At the drum major's signal he drops to the ground, whistling as he drops. He pipes again rapidly. When the drum major exclaims again, the dancer appears to leap from the ground in front of the door to the roof above the drum, accompanied by a steady blast on the whistle. After this last feat, the singer starts to sing again, telling the people to light the fire if they do not believe that the dancer is hanging to the roof rafters. Someone starts the fire and the audience sees that the dancer is really where the singer claims he is. The fire is put out and the dancer jumps down on to the drum.

Skeptical people in the audience have hung a string of beads from the rafters on each side of the ceremonial house. This is usually done just before the fire is put out at the beginning of the dance. The drum major now says to the people: "Hang on to your beads, he is going to take

them away from you." The drum major exclaims "Hi! Hi! Hi!" as before. The dancer stamps on the drum and leaps clockwise to the right side of the ceremonial house, whistling as he does so. His headdress can be heard scraping against the roof. He whistles rapidly, and then leaps back to the drum. The drummer now warns the people on the left side of the house to hold on to their beads. At a signal from the drum major, the dancer strikes the drum and leaps to that side of the house, whistling as he goes. When he lands on the drum again, he gives both strings of beads to the singer.

One of the clowns now starts the fire and the singer walks back and forth in front of the drum, holding up the beads and singing. The dancer is nowhere in sight; he is probably under the drum. After the song, the clown puts the fire out, so that all is dark again. The drum major exclaims, and the dancer seems to come whistling through the air and land on the drum, piping on his whistle rapidly. The performance is now repeated. At the next exclamation from the drum major the dancer lands on the ground in front of the kuksuyu, near the door. He whistles as he goes, and whistles rapidly afterwards. At the next signal from the drum major he lands on the drum. Then from the drum he goes to the roof, on the side toward the door; then to the ceiling above the drum; then he drops back to the drum. He whistles continuously and pipes afterwards.

After the dancer alights on the drum the singer says: "Listen now as closely as you can, he is going out." The drum major exclaims: "Hi! Hi! Hi!" and the dancer hits the drum and shoots through the air, whistling as he goes. Apparently he strikes the hide which has been stretched over the smoke hole and knocks it to one side. After he has disappeared through the smoke hole the singer sings and tells the people to build the fire. The dancer meanwhile proceeds to the nearest stream or pond and washes off the down feathers. When the fire blazes up, the down from his body can be seen sticking to the rafters.

After the fire has lighted up the dance house, the people start to go out. The kuksuyu, however, stands at the door, and refuses to let the audience out without payment. Everyone, except dancers, must pay him a basket, or some arrows, or other articles. He does not say a single word, he merely whistles. The people do not hand him the payment but put it on the ground near him. No one dares touch him, since his costume is supposed to be harmful to ordinary mortals. When anyone tries to go out without paying him, he blocks the way until something is put on the ground for him. The kuksuyu does not stay till everyone is out.

There are two songs for the lileusi dance. One song (which cannot be translated) is sung outside the ceremonial house and also when the dancer is entering and making the preliminary circuits of the fire. The song sung while the dancer is performing may be translated as follows.

That is what he said when he came. He came from Mt. Diablo [Supemenenu]. The dancers get just like this fellow when they start to be this kind of a dancer. When they come to possess supernatural power, they do this kind of a dance. That is what the dancer says when he speaks. That is what he says when he speaks. He is taking his time, he is going slow, he is going slow. "I'll play; I'll play up high. I'll go high; I'll go low." That is what he says before he begins. He is just the same as any of us; he is not any different. "I'll go toward the door; I'll go toward the drum," the dancer says. He is just like us, he is not a regular shaman, he is different. He says: "I'll go around the dance house, I'll go around, and I'll go around. I'll go low, I'll go low. I'll go high, I'll go high." That is what he



said before he started. That is what he said when he spoke. That is what he said when he told the people to keep still and not say anything, not to say a word when he started. He said not to get close to the fire. "Tell them not to get close to my stopping-place, my feathers are likely to hurt them. Keep them away from it." That is what he said when he started. "People who do not believe me may hang things on the rafters. Anyone who does not believe me can do that." That is what he said. He said: "I'll go high, I'll go high." That is what this dancer said when he did his tricks. That is what he said, that shaman who used to do the dance that this shaman now follows. Now he is doing the same thing which in early days the dancers used to do. If you put up anything, hold it tight, whoever does not believe in this dancer. Hold it tight if you do not believe.

That is what this shaman's words say when he is going to dance. He says: "I'll go high, I'll go high." That is what he said. He has gone, he has gone. Did you listen to him when he went? He approached right close to the door. He said: "I'll go close to the ground." That is what he said, that is what he said. Do not get near him, do not get near him. He is just starting now, do not get near him. "I cannot do it when anyone is close to me." That is what he said. Do not get near him. If you do not believe him just make a little fire before he gets down. He is right over the drum. He is a shaman, not a regular kind of a shaman, but just a shaman for this dance. Now just watch him closely.

### OLOCHINA

The olochina or owl dance is usually the last of the kuksuyu series, following the uzumati (grizzly bear) dance. The singer and drummer of the uzumati are retained for the olochina, but there is a different drum major. The dancers, four men, dress in the bush. The drum major is already there with them when, before the dance begins, a clown comes into the ceremonial house and leads the singer out to the dressing-place. The drummer remains at his station inside.

The costume of the first three dancers consists of a feather cape, a hair net, and a flicker headband across the brow. A magpie (achachu) feather sonolu, considerably larger than the usual one, is worn on the back of the head, projecting above. Down of the vulture or goose, or other white down, is stuck with paint all over the face, only very small apertures being left for the eyes. The idea is to give the dancers the appearance of owls. The body is not painted. Each dancer carries a quiver with arrows in it. The costume of the rear dancer, who is called the kalepbe, is different from the others. He wears two feather capes, one in the usual position hanging down his back below the shoulders, the other suspended from the top of his head by a string tied under his chin.

The dancers dance from the dressing-place to the ceremonial house, led by the singer, who claps his hands instead of using an elderwood clapper and sings while the drum major exclaims. They make one or two stops en route to the ceremonial house.

The drum major wears a net over his hair and a magpie feather ornament sticking out backwards from his head. He dances with his arms dangling at his sides, bending each knee alternately as he steps along, and exclaims "Hui! Hui! Hui! Huiya!" On the last word, "Huiya" the drum major comes to a stop facing the dancers and standing very erect, with his hands held rigidly at his sides.

While he exclaims, the dancers crouch so that the palms of their hands touch the ground. They move their heads from side to side like owls and cry "Wheu!" at the same time revolving slowly counterclockwise. The drum major now exclaims "Hiye!" and the dancers gradually assume an upright position, but with the buttocks still stuck out. Each man slowly raises the quiver and arrows in his right hand above his head without straightening the arm. They turn their heads from side to side as they straighten up and work their hands up and down in front of them, palms in. They dance with the legs far apart, lifting each foot very high and keeping their hands working up and down alternately like pistons.

The singer, of course, enters the ceremonial house first. The drummer is already there and steps on to the drum as he sees the singer enter. When the singer reaches his position beside the drum, he and the drummer start the music. The drum major comes in next, the four dancers following close behind him. As he enters he exclaims "Hoh! Hoh! Hoh!" and dances at the left side of the door, exclaiming continually and turning in every direction. In his right hand he carries an elderwood cane with a big feather ornament (sonolu) on the end and three smaller ones fastened along its length. The four dancers enter and dance to the right of the fire near the door. As the leader approaches the fire the drum major exclaims "Huiya!" and all four crouch down, with the palms of the hands touching the ground. Then he exclaims "Hiye!" and they rise and continue to dance counterclockwise toward the drum. The drum major dances as he did outside the ceremonial house, with his arms loose at his sides and his cane horizontal, but tilted a bit upward in front.

When the leader of the four dancers gets near the drum, the drum major gives the signal again for them to crouch and revolve counterclockwise. When the drum major exclaims "Hiye!" again, they rise and continue dancing toward the drum. The third time he exclaims "Huiya!" when the dancers are in front of the drum and facing it. This time they do not go down upon their hands at the signal. Instead, they stop dancing, and the music stops at the same instant. This ends the prelude of the dance.

When the singer begins singing for the main part of the dance, the drum major exclaims "Huh! Huh! Huh!" He remains at the drum from now on. As the music begins the dancers start to dance as before, moving counterclockwise. When they get halfway to the door, the drum major's "Huiya!" sends them down on their hands again. When he exclaims "Hiye!" they get up. When they get halfway round on the opposite side of the fire, he repeats his exclamations, with the same effect. He does not exclaim when they are near the door. When they arrive at the drum, he exclaims "Huiya!" and music and dancing cease. The circuit is made four times in all, and each time the drum major makes the dancers crouch. The fourth circuit concludes the main part of the dance.

As the singer starts to sing for the finale, the drum major exclaims "Huh! Huh! Huh!" and the dancers begin their exit, dancing counterclockwise. When halfway to the door the drum major signals them down on their hands again, and when they near the door he repeats the signal. The second time they rise, the dancers dance straight out, facing forward. The dancer with the two feather aprons (the kalepbe), who brings up the rear, dances much harder throughout the performance than any of the others, with far more violent movements.

After this last dancer with the two capes has gone through the doorway the singer continues his song and the drum major continues dancing near the drum. He now dances out, doubling back frequently and exclaiming "Huh!"



Huh! Huh!" in staccato fashion. He dances out backwards. When he has gone, the singer and drummer walk out.

There are two songs for the olochina dance. One is sung outside the ceremonial house as the dancers approach it; the other is sung inside.

This dance concludes the kuksuyu series.

#### HELEKASI

Besides the singer and drummer only two men, called helekbeke, take part in this masked dance. Neither the singer nor the drummer has any special costume. The dancers' costume is very simple, consisting, besides the clothing about the middle, of a feather cape on the back, tied under the arms and across the chest; and a piece of deerskin that completely envelops the head. This skin extends below the chin and is tied in back of the neck; it has holes for eyes, nose, and mouth. The eye holes have broad black lines around them; one hole is circular, the other oval. Similarly, one side of the face is stuffed out, the other normal. The nose hole is small and without decoration. The mouth hole is also small, but sometimes red lips and white teeth are painted on the mask. Each dancer carries a double bone whistle.

They dress in the bush with the assistance of the singer and the drummer, who then lead the way to the dance house, the former singing until he reaches the door, when he stops. He and the drummer walk in to their places. The singer carries an elderwood clapper and takes his position to the left of the drum.

The music begins; the singer sings, to the accompaniment of the drum, the regular song for this dance, which is different from the one he sings while approaching the dance house. As the music begins, the dancers enter in single file and dance to the drum, moving to the right of the fire, looking straight at the singer. They dance with buttocks protruding, stooped forward with arms dangling, legs apart, knees flexed. At the drum they stop as the music ceases, standing side by side, stooped over, facing the drum, backs to the fire.

When they start dancing again as the music begins, they turn to the right so as to face the fire. Both together now dance sideways facing the fire, looking first to one side and then to the other. When they reach the door the music stops, and they turn to the left to face the door, their backs to the fire. When it starts again, they turn to the right to face the fire. They now dance sideways to the right of the fire up to the drum, where they turn to the left to face the drum, just as the singer and drummer stop. When they start again, they turn to the right and dance as before facing the fire. They make three more stops at the drum (four in all for this main part of the dance). They also make three more stops at the door, a total of four there. The last stop for the main part of the dance comes at the drum; the first was made at the door.

After this last stop, the dancers separate, one dancing down each side of the fire toward the door. In this conclusion or finale they dance facing the fire, looking from side to side and making half-turns, first one way and then the other. Each dancer raises his hands alternately to his brow as he looks sideways and upwards. They do this only occasionally, not every time they turn their heads. Each makes two independent and complete turns to the right between the middle of each side of the dance house and the door. They dance out backwards, either one going out first. The singer and drummer then walk out, passing on whichever side of the fire they wish.

The words for the two songs for this dance are untranslatable.

#### HELIKÁ

A singer, in ordinary dress, and four men are the only participants in this dance, which is performed about three or four o'clock in the afternoon. The singer carries an elderwood clapper. The leader of the dancers is called hoiuche, his followers echutok.

The dancers wear their hair in a net, with a sonolu feather ornament in the hair on the right side of the head, sticking out obliquely behind the ear. The faces are painted, sometimes in three colors (red, white, black), sometimes in two, each side of the face, however, being painted a solid color. One side may be red, the other white, with a median line of black; the next man may have his face all white with a black median line. The breast and abdomen are painted with horizontal stripes of all three colors. Here again the breadth of the stripes and the arrangement of the colors vary. One may have three broad stripes of the three colors; the next may have many stripes. Some may leave bare patches of skin, while others paint solidly. The front of each arm is painted in the same manner as the body. The back and legs are not painted.

The dancers dress in the bush, and the singer leads them to the dance house, singing as he comes. When they arrive at the entrance all stop and the singer enters. He does not sing as he walks in but starts singing the regular dance song when he gets to his place at the right of the drum. As soon as he begins, the dancers come in sideways, one after the other, dancing towards the drum but looking at the fire all the time. They dance sideways to the drum, stepping instead of shuffling, yet moving very slowly, lifting the feet about three inches off the ground—really almost marking time. The arms are carried loosely at the sides, the head is turned from side to side to synchronize with the leader's movements. The leader dances up to a little beyond the left end of the drum. When his followers reach the front of the drum, the singer strikes a resounding clap with his clapper and all stop, turning about to face the drum in a line parallel to it. This ends the prelude.

When the singer resumes in a minute, the men dance a little in front of the drum, facing it. They take the same kind of steps as in the prelude, but now merely mark time. The arms are held loosely at the sides, the head is turned alternately to the right and left as before. After a moment thus facing the drum, the men turn about and dance counterclockwise, facing the fire as before, the leader going first. They now circle the fire four times with the corresponding stops each time at the drum. At each stop they turn about to face the drum, exactly as they did at the end of the prelude. The singer stops them each time at the drum with a sharp clap of his clapper.

They dance out to the right of the fire, dancing sideways as during the prelude and body of the dance but without turning or making any special turns at the door. The leader goes out first. After the dancers have gone, the singer walks out.

There are two songs for this dance, neither of which can be translated. One is sung outside the dance house, while the dancers are coming from the dressing-place; the other is the regular dance song.

#### HELIKA

In this dance there is a singer, a drum major who acts as drummer, six men, and one woman. The male dancers are called helkiyanik; the female dancer is called osabe.

The singer wears a net and a goosedown boa on his head.



The boa is tied around the head with the ends hanging down the back to the waist. Instead of an elderwood clapper, he carries a cocoon rattle with only two cocoons on it.

The drum major has a net over his hair and wears a feather ornament (makki) stuck in the hair on the right side of the head somewhat over the ear. He has a broad stripe of white paint along each side of his jaw, but not on his chin. He wears a cape on his back, tied under his arms and across his chest. A six-foot elderwood cane with a feather ornament (sonolu) completes his paraphernalia.

The men dancers wear a net over the hair and a flicker headband, and a cape and feather ornament (makki) like the drum major. Each one carries a six-foot cane with a feather ornament (sonolu) on top. Men dancers are painted differently from the drum major, however, with horizontal stripes of white on the face and front of the body, but not on the arms or legs. Each man carries in his mouth an elderwood whistle, nine inches long, plugged at one end with a hole on the side.

The woman dancer wears a flicker headband across her brow so low that it almost covers her eyes. She also wears a cap made of the scarlet scalps of the California woodpecker (*Melanerpes formicivorus*) sewed to a fine net. This cap is called noiuni. It fits closely on the head and the hair hangs down loosely from under it. Around her head she wears a goosedown boa, the ends of which fall to her waist in back. In each ear, she wears a pendant called lokanu, consisting of a string of clamshell-disk beads with small abalone pendants on the lower end.

The dancers dress in the bush. The singer is with them and accompanies them to the dance house. They walk one behind the other, stepping very high with legs far apart. The woman brings up the rear, walking naturally. They proceed thus until they reach the door of the dance house, where the singer stops the song with which he has accompanied the marching. All walk in together, the six men proceeding to the drum, the woman to her station on the right side of the dance house. The men face the drum, standing abreast. This ends the prelude.

Now, as the singer begins to sing, and the drum major to drum and exclaim, the dancers separate; three go to the right of the fire, three to the left. The drum major exclaims, "Heh! Heh! Heh! Heh-heh! Heh-heh!" The dancers do not move until he exclaims "Heh-heh!" The drum major now leaves the drum and dances toward the door, counterclockwise, passing between the fire and the three dancers on that side. He repeats his exclamations at the middle of the left side and at the door. From the door he works first to the right side, then to the left, driving each trio of men dancers back toward the drum, where they arrive simultaneously. As he dances he turns in every direction. He holds his cane vertically in his right hand, sonolu up. As he drives the dancers toward the drum, he moves the cane slowly in front of him in a wide arc.

The men dancers dance sideways facing the fire, in a stooping position, stepping high, swinging their arms alternately back and forth at their sides. As one arm swings forward, the other swings backward. Each dancer holds his cane nearly horizontal in his right hand, and whistles in time to his steps, not turning his head, but merely inclining it from side to side. The feet and the arms move together.

The woman dances by twisting her body, with her elbows at her sides and her forearms horizontal. She does not move her feet.

The dancers do not change their step when the drum major exclaims. Both trios arrive at the drum together, where they turn to the right and stand abreast, facing the drum. The drum major steps on the drum from the left side, as the music stops. This ends the first quarter of the body of the dance. The performance is repeated three times.

After the fourth time, the dancers make their exit, the drum major remaining on the drum. All six men dance out sideways to the right, facing the fire. The drum major exclaims as they leave the drum and again as they near the door. As the singer begins the song for the finale, the woman starts to dance from her position, passing counterclockwise in front of the singer and the drum and coming up behind the last of the men. The drum major in the meantime has been dancing on the drum in a stooped position, turning in every direction as he dances. Each dancer passes out sideways to the "Heh-heh! Heh-heh!" of the drum major. The dancers are about three feet apart. They dance and whistle throughout the finale, as they have done during the main part of the dance. After the woman goes out, the drum major follows, turning and stooping in every direction. He exclaims as he leaves the drum, midway to the door, and as he dances out the door. The singer walks out afterwards.

This dance has two songs, one for outside and one for inside the ceremonial house. Both are untranslatable. The dance is performed independently of other dances either at night or by day.

#### KALEA

Six men and four women take part in this dance.<sup>6</sup> The musicians are a singer with an elderwood clapper, and a drummer, both in ordinary clothes. One of the six men dancers acts as drum major; another as whistler (tututbe); the other four men are called ukantbek. In addition, there are two white clowns in the audience, who follow the kalea dance with a form of the clown dance (p. 289) although they do not have the customary four dancers.

The dancers dress in the chief's house. The men wear hair nets. They have white paint on their faces and bodies, but not on their arms or legs. Each is painted in a manner distinct from that of his comrades. Some are spotted all over; some have one side of the body spotted, the other decorated with horizontal or vertical bars. The four ukantbek carry bows and arrows. The bow is drawn but the string is merely held against the side of the arrow, not inserted in the notch, for fear of accident during the dance. The drum major carries a feather wand (sonolu) in one hand. The whistler wears a flicker headband across his forehead, projecting at the sides, and above this, also projecting at the sides, a feather ornament (makki).

The costume of the women dancers consists of a deer-skin skirt with fringes and a shell-bead headband two inches wide, its ends hanging down in back. The face is painted, a horizontal line of white paint extending back from the corners of the mouth; above this line there is no paint, but some of the dancers have spots on the chin, others are decorated with painted lines. Their bodies are not painted. A string of spire-lopped olive shells crosses the back of the neck, the ends being drawn back under the arms from the front. They cross in back and the tie strings then pass around the waist to tie in front, the tie strings being very long. Each dancer carries in her hands a goose-

<sup>6</sup> The kalea and moloku (p. 280) dances are danced at Kotolosaku, a village on the McCormick ranch near the Byrne's Ferry road.



down boa about ten feet long.

After dressing, the dancers leave the chief's house and go in a group to the ceremonial house, accompanied by the musicians. The singer enters first, singing and followed by the drummer and drum major. He passes to the right of the fire and stops singing when he reaches his position at the right end of the drum. The drummer steps onto the drum and the drum major takes his stand to the left of it. When the music begins, the drum major moves to the front of the drum, where he dances during the following performance.

Now the first dancer rushes in and springs across the fire towards the drum, threatening the audience with his bow and arrow. The singer starts his song and the drum major exclaims twice, "Hoh! Hoh! Hoh! Whiyi," the last syllable "yi" being very long drawn out. The second time he raises his feather wand (sonolu) with his right hand as he exclaims "Whiyi" and the dancer starts to dance from the drum around the fire to the right, with his bow and arrow drawn but now pointed at the fire, not the audience. As the dancer approaches the door the drum major exclaims twice: "Hoh! Hoh! Hoh! Huiya!" the syllable "ya" being very long drawn out. After the second "Huiya" he exclaims "Whiyi," as before, and lifts his feather wand. At the syllables "Hoh! Hoh! Hoh!" the dancer proceeds very slowly, but when the drum major calls "Whiyi" he dances vigorously. As the dancer nears the drum in his circuit of the fire, the drum major exclaims twice in quick succession, as above, each time swinging his feather wand upward. He does this a third time as the dancer reaches the drum. On the final "Whiyi" the dancer, musician, drummer, and drum major all stop. Only this first dancer makes the entire circuit of the fire.

In a moment the singer begins again, accompanied by the drummer and drum major. The latter exclaims "Hoh! Hoh! Hoh! Whiyi!" twice. The dancer begins to dance in earnest on the second "Whiyi" dancing beside the drum major.

Now a second man dances in, followed by one of the women. He dances to the right of the fire up to the drum; the woman remains on the right side of the house, and dances there. The second dancer threatens the people with his bow and arrow as he dances up to the drum, and the drum major makes the usual calls as the man nears the drum. This second dancer stays and dances with the drum major and the first dancer.

A third man and a second woman now dance in. This third man dances to the right of the fire around to the drum, to the accompaniment of the usual exclamations and signals by the drum major. The woman, however, dances to the left side of the house.

The fourth dancer now comes in, followed by the third woman. He repeats the performance of the two men who preceded him and now dances with the drum major in front of the drum. The fourth man and the third woman both dance to the right of the fire, the woman taking her position on the right side of the house next the first woman. Then the fourth woman enters; she is followed by the whistler. She dances to the left side of the house, where she takes her position beside the second woman.

The whistler dances directly up to the fire, then back to the door, as the drum major exclaims, and out again. He dances in a second time and the drum major exclaims twice as upon his first entry. The whistler dances to the right of the fire up to the drum, where the four men dancers and the drum major are dancing back and forth. At the usual signal from the drum major, the whistler joins this group, coming into his final position in front of the drum on the second "Whiyi," and the second upward swing

of the drum major's wand (sonolu). All music and dancing cease upon the second "Whiyi." This concludes the elaborate prelude; now follows the body of the dance.

Very shortly the singer resumes his singing and, as he does, the whistler jumps across the fire towards the door. Then the drum major exclaims as before and the whistler whistles in time to the drum beats.

The whistler now dances near the door; the drum major continues to dance in front of the drum. The four men dancers start from the drum on the first exclamation of the drum major. On the second exclamation they bend very low. Then they dance to each side of the house, going only as far as the door. Two men dance on each side of the fire, between the women and the fire, facing the fire and pointing their arrows at it. They twist their bodies from side to side as they dance, panting or breathing very audibly in time to their movements.

The drum major exclaims twice again, which is the signal for the men dancers to work back towards the drum. They do so, this time without threatening people with their bows and arrows. The whistler dances back to the drum, passing on whichever side of the fire he chooses. Only the women remain dancing in their places. As the men dancers reach the drum, the drum major signals again, and on the second "Whiyi" all music and dancing cease.

After this stop the performance is repeated—all of the actions being carried out as described. This is done four times altogether.

For the finale of the dance, after the men dancers have returned to the drum for the fourth time, the first dancer dances to the right of the fire, towards the door. He starts with the usual signal from the drum major, who dances with him halfway to the door, then dances back to the drum. When the first dancer reaches the door, the drum major exclaims twice, and the man dances out backwards. Each of the other three men dancers now dances out in the same way, the drum major accompanying each to the door. The women then follow. Sometimes all four women dance out together on the signal from the drum major. More usually, however, the drum major leads two of the women out, the whistler leading out the other two, the men performers preceding the women.

The whistler and the two women following him go out first. Before they start, the whistler dances back and forth between them and the drum, whistling very rapidly. The drummer dances back and forth in front of the drum, until the whistler and his two companions have left the ceremonial house. As the whistler approaches the women, before leading them out, the drum major exclaims twice, as before, "Hoh! Hoh! Hoh! Whiyi!" On the second "Whiyi" the whistler turns to the right; the women follow him to the door, dancing sideways facing the fire and swinging the goosedown boas they carry. As the trio nears the door, the drum major exclaims twice, at which the women face the door, one behind the other, while the whistler dances towards the fire. He dances up to the fire, then dances straight backwards out the door, followed by the women, who, however, face him as they dance out.

The drum major now prepares to escort the other two women. He exclaims twice at the drum before he starts to dance towards them, the exclamations being followed by dancing in front of the drum, with a great variety of movements. He holds his feather wand (sonolu) horizontally, pretending that it is an arrow. Finally he dances over to the women. They follow him, facing the fire like the other pair. When they all near the door, the drum major exclaims twice, and they face the door, one behind the other. He dances in front, near the door, for a short while. The two women precede him, thus reversing the order in which



the first group made its exit. When the women are outside, the drum major exclaims twice again, raising his feather wand as usual. Then he dances up to the fire. From the fire he dances backwards towards the door, facing the fire. When quite close to the door he exclaims: "Ah! Ah! Ah!" as he goes out backwards. The singer and drummer walk out last.

There are two songs connected with this kalea dance. One is sung by the singer outside the ceremonial house as the dancers are approaching it after dressing at the chief's house. The second song is the regular dance song sung inside. Neither song was translated by the informant.

#### KALEA (WITH POTA)

When the kalea dance is performed in connection with the pota ceremony (p. 295) it differs somewhat from the dance just described, in which there are ten participants in all, four women and six men, two of the men serving as whistler and drum major respectively. When the kalea is performed with the pota ceremony, there are two whistlers and eighteen to twenty-three performers, eight women and from ten to fifteen men. Both versions of the dance, however, have one singer, one drummer, and one drum major; the singer carries an elderwood clapper, and singer and drummer are dressed in ordinary garb. Also, in both dances, the movement is counterclockwise.

The men dancers are clad in a kilt of deerskin, with a grass skirt hanging down over it to below the knees. This skirt is made from a tall, broad-bladed species of grass that grows on the banks of streams and ponds. The dancers wear hair nets and flicker headbands that project on each side of the forehead. Three or four crow or raven tail feathers are stuck in the hair over the ears, each feather split partway down the shaft so that the two halves diverge. Each man wears a necklace of clamshell beads and abalone pendants. The men are decorated with white paint made of crushed white rock (walangasu) mixed with water, applied to the face with the fingers. Bird down is then stuck to the damp paint on the face; the informant said the idea was to make the dancer look like an owl. There are big blotches of black and white paint on the body, arms, and legs, the black pigment being charcoal. Each man carries a drawn bow and arrow.

The women dancers wear fringed buckskin dresses reaching to the ankles, with belts of olive shells and clamshell beads, and have white goosedown boas around their heads, the ends hanging down behind. Large square clamshell pendants hang from their shell necklaces. Each woman carries a long goosedown boa, an end dangling from each hand.

Usually there are only two whistlers, but there may be three. The whistlers are clad like the other men dancers but they carry a double bone whistle on a cord around the neck, and grasp an elderwood stick with both hands. They hold their hands in front, palms down with the index fingers side by side. Between the index and middle fingers of each hand are placed the wing and tail feathers of a Brewer's blackbird, sticking up vertically.

The drum major carries a big feather wand (sonolu) in his right hand, which he waves slowly back and forth as he dances. He is dressed like the other men.

The singer, drummer, and drum major enter first and take their positions. When the music begins, one of the whistlers comes in and dances up to the drum, then back to the door to bring in the second whistler, with whom he dances up to the drum, leaving the second man in front of it. He then returns to the door and brings in

one of the male dancers, leading him up to the drum and putting him on the right of it. Again, he goes to the door and brings in a woman, whom he leads to the right side of the house; then another man, whom he places on the left side of the drum, then another woman for the left side of the house. He keeps this up until all the dancers are in, the women standing, four on each side of the house, where they remain throughout the dance. Their part in the performance is to raise and lower their hands, alternately; as the right hand is raised the left is lowered and vice versa.

When the performers are all in, the drum major, followed closely by two whistlers and the dancers, begins to dance in front of the drum. The dancers move very slowly, passing to the right (counterclockwise) around the room, in front of the two groups of women, who dance in their places, facing the fire. As the men dancers near the door the singer sings slowly and the dancers bend forward. Immediately the drum major exclaims "Ah!" repeating the exclamation a dozen or more times, as the signal for the dancers to rise slowly from the stooping position to an upright position.

The dancers circle the hall counterclockwise until they reach the drum again. As the drum major comes to the drum he repeats his exclamations. On the last syllable he stamps his feet, and the dance and music stop instantly. Then the circuit of the ceremonial house is repeated to make the prescribed four ceremonial acts.

For the finale of the dance the two whistlers take places on opposite sides of the house, each standing at the end of a row of women—the end nearest the door. The drum major dances in front of the drum. One of the men dancers dances towards the door—passing on the left of the fire if he has been dancing at the left of the drum; otherwise to the right. He draws his bow and arrow and points the arrow at the ground as he dances out, facing forward. When he gets to the door the singer and drummer stop the music and the other dancers stop. Once the man is outside, the music starts again, and the man on the end of the row of dancers on the opposite side of the house dances out in the same way. This is continued until all the men are out. Then the women make their exit, two at a time, one from each side, those nearest the door going first. They dance slowly to the door, alternately raising and lowering their goosedown boas, each pair going out side by side.

When the last woman has gone out, one of the whistlers starts to dance counterclockwise from the drum around the ceremonial house. When he reaches the drum again in his circuit, he dances in a stooping attitude, turning four or five times in one direction, then in the other. At the same time, the drum major is dancing on one side of the drum, exclaiming "Ah! Ah! Ah!" continuously. The whistler continues to the right around to the door. When he gets to the door he dances out backwards; all the others before him have gone out forward. As this whistler goes out, the music stops, but begins again immediately. The other whistler goes through the same performance and leaves the ceremonial house.

The next person to go is the drummer, who merely walks out. As soon as he leaves the drum the drum major steps on it and starts to dance, making more noise than the drummer. He turns this way and that as he dances, stooping and rising, bending backwards, and going through a variety of movements, all the while exclaiming, "Huh! Huh! Huh!" When he has danced a bit, he interjects a long drawn out "Heh!" at the same time making a big dip with his feather wand (sonolu). Then he goes on dancing and exclaiming as before. He then steps off of the drum



and dances in front of it; then he dances to the right, past the fire, and out to the door. He does not go out directly but dances back and forth and around. Meanwhile the people poke fun at him, but he never cracks a smile. The more they banter him, the more comic antics he performs and the more time he takes to make his exit.

When the drum major has gone out, the singer, who has stood at the right of the drum throughout, stops singing and walks out himself. After the singer has gone, the people may stay or leave, just as they like.

I was unable to obtain a translation for the song for this dance. There seems to be only a single song, that used within the ceremonial house for the dance itself.

### HEKEKE

Hekeke is the onomatopoetic name for the valley quail (*Lophortyx californica*), and the name of the dance may be translated literally as the "quail dance." A singer and a drummer, both in ordinary costume, and four men dancers form the entire dance company. The leader of the dancers is called hoiuche, the other dancers echutok ("followers"). The singer carries an elderwood clapper.

The four dancers wear hair nets and flicker headbands, with a feather ornament (makki) sticking out from the hair on the right side behind the ear, and wooden earplugs seven inches long. These have a winding of valley quail crests, called somayu, on the front end, the feathers being arranged like those in a flicker headband, that is, with tops and bases alternating along the edge. A four-foot elderwood cane, painted red, completes the paraphernalia. Each dancer is painted with a vertical black stripe down the face from the hair at the middle of the forehead to the Adam's apple, the rest of the face being painted white right to the stripe. A semicircular black band, three inches wide, goes from shoulder to shoulder, the middle of the stripe passing over the lower part of the sternum. Broad, black horizontal stripes are painted on the arms, and narrow ones on the abdomen.

The dancers dress in the bush and then walk to the dance house. The singer and drummer are already at their posts and start the music, and then the dancers dance in. They come in sideways, single file, shuffling along with their feet apart, knees flexed, buttocks very slightly protruded, arms held loosely at the sides, and cane in the right hand. In their progress toward the drum they pass to the right of the fire, facing it. The leader makes three separate turns between the door and the drum, making a complete revolution to the right each time. Each dancer does the same when he reaches the same spots. There is no signal from the leader, the singer, or the drummer for these turns. The singer, however, signals a stop with a sharp clap of his clapper when the dancers reach the front of the drum. They stop in front of the drum, still facing the fire.

When the music starts again, they dance in the same way around to the right, this time without making the turns they made earlier. They circle the fire thus four times, with the usual stop at the drum each time. The stopping and starting are controlled by signals from the singer. After the fourth stop at the drum, they begin to dance out sideways, facing the fire as before, and passing to the right of it. As each one nears the door, he turns slightly to the left, to face the door, and then goes out.

There is only one song for this dance, there being no special one for the prelude or to be sung outside the dance house. The song has no meaning, but the first few bars seem to be a repetition of the word "hekeke."

### ALINA

A singer, a drummer, a white clown who acts as drum major, and fourteen dancers—four men and ten women—take part in this dance. One of the four men dancers is the hoiuche or leader; the other three are spoken of as echutok or esubek, meaning "followers" or "helpers." The women are called osabek.

The singer and drummer are dressed in ordinary clothes, and the drum major is a white clown wearing a tail, as described in the woochi dance. The men dancers wear hair nets. A single feather ornament (makki) projects at a right angle on the right side of the head, the stem being shoved into the hair and net at the back of the head. The leader, however, wears a makki on each side of the head and has, besides, a bunch of magpie tail-feathers (achachu) sticking up from his hair at the back. All four dancers carry elderwood canes about four feet long. The face and body, but not the arms or legs, are painted with white blotches.

The faces of the ten women dancers are painted with a line of white paint extending horizontally back from the corners of the mouth and with three more or less vertical lines on the chin, one in the middle, the others drawn from the corners of the mouth. The loose hair is held in position by a goosedown boa tied around the head, the ends of the boa hanging down to the waist in back. Each woman also carries a boa, five feet long, of crow or raven down or small feathers. Otherwise the women wear ordinary garb.

The drummer is already in the dance house when the singer leads the dancers from the dressing-place, singing as he comes. The dancers walk to the dance house, where they stop outside. The singer goes in, but stops his singing. He walks to his position at the right of the drum, where he resumes the same song he has sung outside. As he sings he walks counterclockwise past the drum, keeping around to the right of the fire until he reaches the door. As he passes the door, the dancers begin to enter one at a time, the leader first, then the other three men and the ten women. The singer passes around the fire to the door again, the dancers following him in single file. As he reaches the door in this circuit, the last woman is just coming in. The men now keep inside the line of women, passing between them and the fire and forming a second line of dancers. The singer takes the lead of the outer line, formed of women. As the singer reaches the drum, he stops singing and the two lines of dancers come to a standstill. The fire is then circled by all, three or more times, with a stop each time the singer reaches the drum. All this time he sings the same song that he sang outside the dance house. Throughout this elaborate prelude the drum is not used.

During the prelude each man dances or walks, planting his cane on the ground directly in front of him with each step. He grips the cane firmly with both hands at the top and holds it perfectly vertical at arm's length, as he turns his head, first to one side, then to the other. After that he takes the next step and repeats the whole performance. The women meanwhile move their shoulders alternately as they walk. They keep their elbows at their sides, forearms horizontal, and palms up, with the black feather boa held in the hands.

At the fourth stop, which ends the prelude, the women line up abreast in front of the drum, facing the fire. Three of the men stand in front of them, also facing the fire, and in front of these stands the leader. One of the white clowns in the dance house now acts as drum major.

Now the singer and drummer start, the former singing the regular alina dance song, which is different from the one sung in the prelude and outside the dance house. As



the drum major says, "Huh! Huh! Huh! Huh! Huh! Huh! Huh! Huh! Huiya!" the dance leader dances in place, grasping his cane tightly at the top and holding it at arm's length planted vertically on the ground. His followers do the same, moving their shoulders and swinging their canes sideways at the top only, the lower ends being held firmly on the ground. The leader turns his head from side to side, and swings his buttocks slightly. The drum major exclaims "Huiaya!" and the dance leader starts to dance sideways to the right around the fire, followed by the three men. As he starts to move, he slides his hands down to the middle of his cane, which causes him to stoop still more. His followers hold their canes at the top as before. All four dance sideways, stooped and facing the fire. They have their buttocks protruded, legs spread far apart, and knees flexed. As they move along, they all turn their heads from side to side in time.

The women, meanwhile, stand without moving their feet, heads slightly bowed, and swing their arms sideways. They do this as the drum major exclaims, "Huh! Huh!" When he says, "Huiaya!" they too start dancing at their position in front of the drum. They hold their elbows at their sides, forearms horizontal, and raise and lower the hands alternately, holding the black feather boas, right hand up, left down, and vice versa. At the same time they raise and lower themselves on their toes, coming down hard on their heels, but do not move from their position in front of the drum.

The clown drum major jumps up and down on the drum with the drummer, landing first on one foot, then the other; his tail bobs up and down violently with his extremely active movements. As the men dancers near the door, the singer changes his song for a moment and the drum major repeats his call, "Huh! Huh! Huh! Huh! Huh! Huh!" The dancers stop and stand still as he calls. Then the drummer calls, "Hia!" and the dancers stamp their feet and start dancing fast again. When, at the drum major's call, the men stop, the women also stop, and bend their heads forward slightly. Instead of alternately raising and lowering their hands, they now swing their arms sideways, as they did when the men started to dance, all keeping time until the drummer's "Hia!" signals them to resume the regular style of dancing.

The men near the door now resume their dance to the right of the fire towards the drum. As they near the drum the drum major says, "Huh! Huh! Huh! Hi!" the last syllable being very long drawn out. Instantly everyone stops short—dancers, musicians, and drum major. After this stop the performance is repeated three times, making the ceremonial four. At the fourth stop, the drummer walks right out.

The singer now takes the lead for the finale and the dancers, forming a single line, follow him counterclockwise from the drum around to the door. The men go first, passing in front of the women, who dance in their places, raising and lowering their hands as described, until the men have gone by, when they follow in a single file. The drum major remains on the drum, jumping up and down as before and exclaiming "Huh!" continuously. Instead of going out, the singer stops at one side of the door and the dance leader makes his exit first. All the dancers, both men and women, go out backwards. The singer, by a change of song, gives the signal for each dancer, as he nears the door, to turn to the right and change from dancing sideways to dancing backwards. As the last one goes out, the singer and the drum major stop. The singer steps out. The drum major, on the drum, looks from side to side at the audience, then breaks into the characteristic giggle of the white clowns and dashes out, passing on

whichever side of the fire he wishes. As he reaches the door, he shouts "Wo!" The informant commented that he acts as though he was ashamed of his actions on the drum. The two songs used for this dance cannot be translated.

# HENEPASI

Four men and four women take part in this dance, together with a singer and a drummer, who acts as drum major also.

Each man wears a hair net and a single large feather (hawk or some other kind) thrust in the hair, pointing forward and upward from the back of the head. The men are dressed in ordinary clothing. Each man carries an elderwood rod, four feet long, with a cocoon on one end. The women are dressed in everyday clothes, with the hair loose, hanging sometimes partly in front of the shoulders, sometimes entirely down the back. They have no special paraphernalia.

The dancers are led by the singer and drummer to the ceremonial house. The singer does not sing until they enter. As they go in, some dancers step to the left of the fire, some to the right, the four men going up to the drum, the four women taking their stations, two on each side of the dance house.

When all are in position, the singer begins to sing. The drummer drums, exclaiming "Hui! Hui!" as the men dance. At his first call the men take positions, one near each end of the drum and slightly in front of it, the other two in corresponding positions near the door. The pairs dance simultaneously. The two men in each position dance towards each other, and when they are close together, each taps the ground in a certain spot with the cocoon on the end of his stick, which he holds slanting. They continue dancing in this fashion until the drummer exclaims "Whuiya!" when they stop. The women, in the meantime, are dancing on each side of the dance house, facing the fire. They bend the knees, at the same time swinging the body sidewise from the waist. The elbows are held tight against the sides, the palms of the hands turned towards the abdomen.

This movement of the dance is performed four times with the corresponding stops. Then the four women start to dance out, facing forward toward the door. Either pair may go out first. The four men continue their dance while the women make their exit. When the last woman has stepped out, the singing and drumming cease.

Very shortly the singer and drummer start the music again, the drummer exclaiming, "Hui! Hui!" as before. The two men near the drum now start to dance toward the door, on opposite sides of the fire. They turn in all directions as they dance, arms straight down at their sides. In their right hands they hold their canes, nearly horizontal but with the forward end raised a little. When they near the two men at the door, the latter face the door and they all dance out facing the doorway, the pair from the drum going last. The drummer and singer keep up the music until the dancers are out of sight, when they also walk out.

The singer sings very slowly and not very loudly for the henepasi dance. There is some correlation between the words of the song and certain movements of the dancers. Part of the song may be translated as follows: "That's the way the dancers act when they dance this dance. That's the way the dancers acted when they danced it in early days." Whenever the singer says "That's the way," each man dancer raises his left hand to his forehead, palm down. The song continues:



That's the way they are looking at the ground when they dance. That's the way they dance. . . . That's the way the two go when they approach each other when they are dancing that dance. . . . That's the way the old-timers used to dance it in early days. . . . In this dance they are dancing the same way.

## KILAKI

The kilaki dance is said to be a special dance performed at Kotoplana, the village near Rawhide in the foothill region of Tuolumne County, a few miles from Jamestown (Kroeber, 1925, pl. 37, no. 65). There are four men dancers, a singer, and a man who acts as both drummer and drum major. No women take part. The leader of the four dancers is called kilakbe, the three followers, kalepbek.

The dancers dress in the bush, where no one can see them. The singer and drummer are in ordinary clothes; the singer carries a split elderwood clapper. The four dancers have pieces of deerhide about their middles. They wear hair nets, and each man has, sticking forward from the sides of the head, a pair of feather ornaments (sonolu) of Brewer's blackbird feathers tied on the end of a stick. Their flicker headbands are not worn across the brow, as are those of most dancers, but run back across the head from the forehead, between the two feather ornaments, and hang down below the waist in back. These headbands are longer than the usual ones and are fastened to the hair net in front and back. The dancers are painted with a vertical white stripe from each shoulder down the back. Each leg is decorated with four rows of white spots—one down the front, one down the back, and one on each side. A stripe of red paint (moke), beginning in the middle of the forehead in front, runs down the ridge of the nose, over the chin, and down the body to the deerhide about the middle. There are two vertical rows of white spots on each side of the face.

The dancers usually practice the dance a bit outside the dance house. On their way to the dance house they go in single file. The singer leads with a song; then comes the drummer, then the dancers. The singer and drummer enter first, the former singing. They pass to the right of the fire and stop at the drum, and the singer stops singing. When he begins again, all four dancers come in together, in single file, just as they came from the bush. Each dancer carries two feather ornaments (makki), one in each hand, feathers up. The dancer holds his arms straight down at his sides, when he is dancing forward. Whenever he turns, he holds the left arm at his side, but bends the right arm at right angles, the forearm thrust forward horizontally. On the way to the drum the leader makes a complete turn to the right, just inside the dance house near the door, thrusting his right forearm forward as described. Each dancer, when he reaches the spot where the leader turned, repeats the performance. On the turn, the dancer holds his head rigidly, facing forward. When the dancers are moving directly forward, they bob their heads first to the right, then to the middle, then to the left; then to the middle, then to the right, and so on. Each time they bob their heads they make a hissing noise, like escaping steam. After the fourth dancer has made the turn just inside the door, they all dance straight ahead, following their leader in single file. When they reach the drum the music stops and the dancers cease all movement. This ends the prelude.

The singer and the drum major now start the body of the dance. The singer resumes his song, the drum major

exclaims, "Ah! Ah! Ah! Ah! Yi!" At his last call "Yi!" the dancers start to move to the right. The drum major ceases his exclamations and simply drums; the singer continues his song. The dancers dance, nearly abreast and half-facing the fire, until the leader nears the door, when the drum major exclaims as above. All four dancers turn simultaneously, extending their right hands. As the first dancer approaches the drum again, the drum major exclaims as before, continuing until the leader reaches the farther end of the drum and stamping on the drum the whole time. In fact, the only time the drum is silent is during the rest intervals. When the drum major stops, the singer also stops singing and the dancers halt. After this halt, the whole movement is repeated, the ceremonial house being circled four times in all.

For the finale, the dancers leave the drum, upon a signal from the singer and drum major, and move toward the door. When they are halfway between the drum and the door, the drum major exclaims again: "Ah! Ah! Ah! Yi!" and they all turn once to the right. They go a little further, and the drum major exclaims: "Ah! Ah! Ah! Yi!" again. First the leader makes a complete turn, while the others mark time in place. Then, at the drum major's signal, each of the others in turn revolves in the same way. When the leader nears the door, the drum major exclaims again: "Ah! Ah! Ah! Yi!" and at the last syllable, "Yi!" the leader revolves once more and goes out, each dancer repeating the leader's performance. The drum major gives the signal as each dancer reaches the spot near the door where the leader turned. When the last dancer has left, the singer and drummer walk out.

There are two songs for the kilaki dance, one sung by the singer when leading the dancers from the bush to the ceremonial house, the other sung inside the ceremonial house. Part of the first song may be translated as follows.

That is what kilaki said: "Listen, fire, I am coming." That is what he said when he was coming in the door. Tell the door to listen. That is what the singer says when singing the kilaki song. That is what he sings after all of the people have crowded into the dance house so that it is full. That is what he sings when he comes in and is going around the fire.

## MAMASU

The mamasu dance differs from most of the Miwok dances in having no prelude or finale. There are, to be sure, four sections in the dance, but the single dancer enters on the first of these four movements and makes his exit on the last. The single dancer is called a mamasbe. A singer and drummer, in everyday clothes, accompany him.

The dancer is made up by the drummer, in the bush. He is painted with blotches of white clayey rock (walangasu) and has a long red stripe down the front from the middle of his forehead to the buckskin about his middle. When he is painted he puts on a flicker headband and thrusts a stick, with feathers on the end of it, in the hair at the back, the feathers appearing above the crown of his head. He wears a hair net to keep his hair in place. Two feather ornaments (sonolu) project in front, one on each side of his head.

When the dancer is ready, the singer goes to the ceremonial house, perhaps a minute ahead of the drummer and dancer. The singer and drummer walk into the ceremonial house, the singer carrying the usual elderwood



clapper. The dancer waits outside for the music to begin before he makes his entrance.

When the music starts, the chief makes the people stand back so that they will not be too close to the dancer, who is evidently regarded as possessing exceptionally harmful supernatural power. Upon hearing the music, the dancer comes in and dances directly up to the drum, keeping to the right of the fire. He dances back and forth in front of the drum, first to the left, then to the right, but not up to the fire. In each hand he carries a forked feather ornament (makki), holding them so that the two ends of the feathers stick out from the side of his hand, beyond the little finger. The feathers thus point downward, and, at the same time, slightly toward the wrist when the hand is bent. The dancer moves his hands in horizontal arcs almost as though he were sweeping, moving each hand independently. As he dances, he bends so far over that his head almost touches the ground. The whole dance is performed in front of the drum; the dancer does not make the circuit of the dance house. When the singer and drummer stop the music, the dancer stops dancing and kneels in front of the drum, facing it.

When the music begins again, the dancer rises and dances as before. Altogether he rests three times and dances four times; the fourth time he dances to the right around to the door of the ceremonial house. When he starts to dance from the drum in this fourth quarter of the dance (that is, after his third rest), he dances sideways, facing the fire. When he gets to the door he revolves four times counterclockwise and dances out backwards.

The song for this dance appears to be untranslatable. The expressions "Huiy! Huiy!" which occur in the song are not signals, as in other dances, but merely a part of the song.

#### TULA

Four men and one woman take part in the tula dance. The music is furnished by a singer and a drummer, who are in everyday clothing. The drummer also acts as drum major.

The men dancers dress in the bush. They are painted with white horizontal stripes on body and limbs down to the wrists and knees. They wear hair nets and flicker headbands running from the forehead back over the head and hanging behind down to the knees or ankles. A feather ornament (sonolu) projects forward on each side of the head. Each dancer carries a large sonolu in his left hand and an elderwood rod, four feet long, in his right.

The dancers walk to the ceremonial house, preceded by the musicians. The dancers wait outside while the musicians move counterclockwise to their positions. The woman who is to take part is already inside. She is dressed in everyday clothes but has four horizontal white bars painted across her face, and carries a goosedown boa. Her hair hangs loose at her back.

When the music begins the dancers come in. As it starts, the drum major exclaims "Uh! Uh! Uh! Uh! Uhiya!" On the last expression, "Uhiya!" the four dancers leap in, landing on their hands just inside the door. Then the drummer exclaims "Yuhia!" and the dancers rise and dance counterclockwise toward the drum, in single file. When the leader gets halfway to the drum, the drummer exclaims again, and all four dancers go down on their hands, rise to an erect position when he says "Yuhia!" and continue dancing towards the drum.

When the four men first enter, the woman dancer arises

and starts to dance, near the singer at the right of the drum. Without moving her feet she sways from side to side, swinging the goosedown boa in the opposite direction to that in which her body moves.

When the four dancers approach the drum, the drum major exclaims again. When he says "Uhiya!" they go down on their hands in front of the drum and facing it. As they drop, the music stops and the men say "Hi" twice, very long drawn out. He exclaims "Yuhia!" and they rise but do not dance. This ends the prelude.

In the body of the dance, the drum major's exclamations—when the dancers are halfway to the door, at the door, halfway to the drum, and at the drum—are signals to the dancers to drop on their hands and to rise again. When he exclaims, "Uhiya!" they drop on their hands; when he exclaims "Yuhia!" they rise. At the drum they do not drop down, but the drum major's final exclamation is a signal for the dancing and music to stop.

The dancers circle the fire four times in all, moving always counterclockwise. Whenever they stop at the door or sides of the house, they go down on their hands. The woman dancer bows her head at the drum major's signals. She raises it when he exclaims "Yuhia!"

In the finale, the drum major signals the dancers, who trot with short steps from the drum to the door. When they are near the door, the drum major exclaims and the leader makes a half-turn to the right and dances out backwards. The other three dancers do the same, each turning in the same place as the leader. After the last man has gone out, the woman, drum major, and singer walk out.

#### LOLE

One man dancer, four women dancers, four singers, a drummer, and a drum major, take part in this dance. The singers and drummer are dressed in ordinary clothes.

The four women dance behind the drum, with their backs to the drum. They wear flicker headbands and are painted with a streak of white paint running back horizontally from each corner of the mouth and four vertical stripes on the chin. The four singers carry elderwood clappers. They usually stand at the left end of the drum. The man dancer wears a flicker headband across his brow, and a hair net. He has two long feathers sticking forward and upward from his hair, projecting seven or eight inches in front above the headband. He is painted with black and white blotches scattered over his entire body. He wears a cape on his back and a deerskin loincloth.

The drum major is dressed somewhat like the drum major for the kalea dance performance with the pota ceremony, except that he has black and white paint all over his body and wears a magpie feather ornament in his hair. He carries a long elderwood cane with magpie feathers fastened on it from one end to the other, but with no bunch of feathers at either end. He holds this cane vertical at arm's length when he dances, the bottom of the cane resting on the ground.

When the drum major and the man dancer come in the singers go up to the drum on opposite sides of the fire. At the drum they stop. This ends the prelude.

The dancer starts to dance from the drum counterclockwise around the house. The drum major dances in place between the drum and the fire, holding his cane steady on the ground, and exclaims "Ah! Ah! Ah!" while the dancer whirls wildly this way and that. When the singer exclaims "Hui! Hui! Hui!" the dancer bends over and dances more vigorously. When the singer sings in the ordinary way, the dancer stands up. When the drum major exclaims "Hoh!



Hoh! Hoh!" the dancer dances to the fire, drops on his knees, and touches his breast to the ground. Then, as the singer again exclaims "Hui! Hui! Hui!" he rises and dances.

Both singer and drum major exclaim when the dancer is in front of the drum. As he leaves the drum he falls or bends backwards, striking the ground with his shoulders; then he springs right up again, as the singer exclaims, "Yi!" very long drawn out. The singer calls thus each time the dancer starts to dance from the drum.

The dancer circles the fire four times in all, with a stop at the drum each time. At the end of the dance, the drum major and dancer go out, each on the side he entered. They are followed by the woman. When all the dancers are gone, the singer and drummer walk out.

### MOCHILASI

A singer and a drummer, who also serves as drum major, furnish the music for this dance. There are two dancers—a man, sotokbe (the mochilo or mochilbe of the kuksuyu dance), and a woman, osabe. Although the character mochilo appears in both the mochilasi and the kuksuyu, the two dances do not seem to be related; they are not given in the same ritual group.

The most conspicuous feature of the man dancer's costume is the spectaclelike ornament of white-oak wood painted red which he wears in front of his eyes. This consists of two rings, held together by a curved piece of white oak about nine or ten inches long, also painted red. This curved piece, jutting out in front of the dancer's nose and curving downward, resembles the long feather worn by the mochilbe in the kuksuyu dance (p. 265). A long, narrow abalone pendant hangs from its end. On the sides of the spectacles are strings to tie around his head. The dancer wears a hair net and a flicker headband, which sticks out about seven inches on each side of the head. He has an ornament of very long magpie tail feathers thrust into the back of his hair, the feathers standing up some fifteen inches above the crown of his head. He is painted red from head to foot, except for his ears, and has a deerskin loincloth. A feather cape, with the tie cords passing behind the neck and under the arms, hangs down behind. He carries an elderwood cane, five feet long, with a feather ornament (sonolu) on top and three small sonolu fastened, one above the other, at the side.

The role of osabe is taken by a woman (osa); it is never played by a man as it usually is in the kuksuyu dance. The costume is said to be the same for both dances, except that the dancer in the mochilasi dance does not wear the horsehair wig which the man dancer who takes the osabe part wears in the kuksuyu. The mochilasi woman dancer is dressed in the usual buckskin dress, without beads or other ornaments. Like the man (sotokbe) she is painted red all over. She wears a flicker headband. A horsehair crest (soesa), about three inches high, extends from the forehead back over the head to the nape of the neck. She carries a goosedown boa eight or ten feet long, doubled up so the ends will not drag on the ground.

The singer has two songs, one sung outside the ceremonial house as the dancers and the musicians approach it, the other sung inside during the dance. The dancers stay outside the ceremonial house while the musicians enter. When the singer, standing near the drum, begins his song, the man dancer runs in. He dances back and forth in front of the people, poising his cane like a spear and blowing a small single bone whistle. He circles the

fire counterclockwise and goes out the door. The music stops.

When the music begins again, the two dancers shuffle in backwards, the man first. They move counterclockwise until they are halfway to the drum. Then the male dancer turns and works back toward the door, still shuffling backwards, but facing the fire. The woman continues until she is in front of the drum, where she turns slightly to face the fire. On her arrival at the drum the drum major calls, "Bau wai! Bau wai! Bau wai! Huiya!" He exclaims thus four times. When the drum major says "Huiya!" the dancers make a complete turn, counterclockwise, which brings them facing the fire again, the woman at the drum, the man at the door.

The man dancer, holding his cane in the right hand, then dances back and forth between the fire and the door. He raises his foot and simultaneously bends his elbow so that the forearm makes a ninety-degree angle with the body, moving the foot and arm on the same side together, first the right side, then the left. As he does this he turns his head to right or left in accordance with the movement of his limbs. As he does so, he looks downward, expelling his breath each time.

The woman, meanwhile, dances back and forth between the drum and the fire. Her arms are crooked at the elbows, and she raises her hands alternately in front of her with a violent motion, blowing her double bone whistle at the same time. With each upward jerk, one end of the goose-down boa she carries swings up. As she dances toward the drum, the man dancer moves toward the door. Both approach the fire at the same time, but on opposite sides of the house. Each time the drum major exclaims "Huiya!," the dancers turn simultaneously and the music stops. This is repeated four times. The singer regulates the dancing and gives the signals for the ceremonial rests; in these intervals, the music is stopped and the dancers rest, the man between the fire and the door, the woman between the fire and the drum. This concludes the body of the dance.

When the singer starts to sing after the fourth rest interval, the woman begins dancing sideways towards the door, counterclockwise. As she approaches the door, the drummer exclaims as before. On the final word "Huiya!" the woman whirls to the right and jumps out of the door. The male dancer has been dancing back and forth between the door and the fire, as described above. After her exit, the drummer repeats his exclamations. On the final word "Huiya!" the male dancer, who has continued to dance back and forth between the fire and the door, whirls to the right to face the door. As the man dancer reaches the spot where the woman turned, the drummer exclaims as before. The dancer whirls and jumps out. After that the drummer and singer walk out.

As mentioned above, there are two songs for the mochilasi dance; one sung outside, one inside, the ceremonial house. The singer accompanies himself by clapping his hands instead of using an elderwood clapper. In the song sung as the dancers approach the ceremonial house, the words "Hima wana!" are interjected at intervals. As the singer sings these words he turns his hands over each time he claps; first the left hand is down, then the right, then the left again, and so on. For the rest of the song he claps his hands without reversing them.

### MOLOKU

The moloku (condor) dance, as well as the kalea (p. 280), is given at Kotolosaku on the McCormick ranch near the Byrne's Ferry road. There is only one dancer, a man,



called molokbe, who impersonates the condor. The musicians are a drummer, who acts as drum major, and a singer.

The dance is performed to celebrate the killing of a condor. The bird is usually killed by one of the chief's hunters and presented to the chief, who must then give a fiesta. If the hunter keeps the bird, he must give the fiesta himself. If the ceremony is not performed, it is believed, illness will strike the hunter or chief or their families.

When a condor is killed, the skin is kept for a dance. The hunters cut the skin from the mandible to the anus. They save the wings and the skin over the body, but not the feet or head. The body of the bird is burned, because, as the informant expressed it, the hunters feel sorry for him and do not want to see his body rot. They throw tuyu seed over the body while it burns and dance around the fire and sing.<sup>7</sup> The skin is stretched on sticks, and when the hunters get back to the village, it is rubbed down with deer marrow to make it soft.

While skinning the condor, the hunter sings.

We have killed the bird chief. Now we are going to take him home for a fiesta. Our chief will give a fiesta in honor of this bird chief. Our chief, we think, will have a fiesta now.

Assisted by the singer or drummer, the dancer puts on the condor skin in the chief's house, lacing it up the front of his body and sticking his legs through the skin where the bird's legs were. The condor's wings are tied to his arms and his head projects from the neck of the bird. The skin is usually so large that the tail drags on the ground. The dancer's face is painted with a broad circle of red paint over his forehead and chin. He wears a hair net and a very long flicker headband across his brow, sticking far out on each side, and two small feather ornaments (sonolu) projecting obliquely one on each side of the head. A feather ornament (makki), thrust in the hair at the back, points forward from the crown of the head.

Singer, drummer, and dancer march from the chief's house. The singer sings the same song that he sings inside the ceremonial house for the dance. The singer and drummer go in first; the dancer waits outside. When the singer starts the music inside, the dancer walks in. He walks around the ceremonial house, counterclockwise, looking from side to side, his wings at his sides. He does not stop at the drum but continues around the room. As he reaches the drum the second time, the singer stops singing and the dancer stands still in front of the drum. This ends the prelude.

In a moment the singer starts his song again, accompanied by the drum. Now the dancer dances slowly, keeping his body moving up and down by flexing his knees. He circles the ceremonial house, counterclockwise, turning in various directions and raising the wings to a horizontal position, sometimes both at the same time, sometimes alternately. From time to time he makes a hissing noise like escaping steam, as he looks from side to side. Sometimes he bends far forward, and then again stands very erect. He circles the ceremonial house four times in the same way, stopping at the drum each time.

At the end of each circuit he sits on the drum, carefully putting the condor's tail behind him so as not to crush it by sitting upon it. He sits with the wings raised

<sup>7</sup> Another informant stated that only a shaman (alini) would kill a condor. Beads and seed are scattered over the body, which is buried carefully.

but not spread. In a few minutes he rises and walks around the house again, this time, however, without music. Arriving at the drum, he stops a moment. Now the singer and drummer begin the music again and the dancer dances back and forth in front of the drum. He raises his wings, both together or alternately, and turns in every direction, alternately bowing and returning to erect posture. He dances thus back and forth from four to eight times. Finally he dances up in front of the singer, with his wings outspread, as a signal for the singer to stop. He dances thus, stopping the singer each time, for four periods altogether.

At the end, when he is ready to dance out, and the music begins for the finale, the drum major exclaims "Heh! Heh! Heh! Hehye!" the last syllable long drawn out. At this the dancer begins his exit, dancing counterclockwise around to the door, going through a variety of motions, including raising one wing over his head. When he is about halfway out, the drummer exclaims again as above, and the dancer drops to his knees, facing the fire and beating the ground with his wings. He rises slowly as the drummer stamps hard on the drum. This same performance is repeated near the door. When he rises from the ground near the door, he dances towards the fire, and then goes out backwards, raising each wing alternately. As he nears the doorway the drummer exclaims "Heh! Heh! Heh!" until he is out. The singer and drummer then walk out.

#### WEHENA

Five dancers, four men and one woman, participate in this dance. There are also a drummer, singer, and drum major, all dressed in ordinary clothing. The drum major wears his hair loose, with no hair net.

The men dancers dress in the bush, the woman inside the dance house, where she awaits the entrance of the men.

The men dancers wear hair nets and flicker headbands that project on both sides. About twenty straight sticks, a foot long, pointed at each end and painted red, are thrust from left to right through the hair net. Set parallel and closely they form a sort of mat running from the forehead to the nape of the neck, the ends projecting on each side. The dancers are painted in front with white horizontal stripes, a half-inch wide and about two inches apart, which run down the body from hair line to toes. The arms are painted only in front, the legs are painted all round. Each dancer carries a bow and quiver of arrows.

The woman wears ordinary clothes and has a white goosedown boa tied around her head, the ends hanging down her back to about the waist. Her hair is loose, not confined by a net. She carries a goosedown boa about ten feet in length, which is doubled so that the ends do not drag on the ground.

The singer, with the drummer and drum major, leads the men dancers from the dressing-place to the dance house, singing as he does so. The drum major dances and exclaims on the way. The dancers walk along in a group, casually, and stop in front of the dance house while the singer, drummer, and drum major enter and go by the right-hand side of the fire up to the drum. Once at the drum, they start the music. In this dance the singer keeps time with his hands and does not use a clapper. The drum major stands near the drum, exclaiming "Hau! Hau! Hau!" and clapping his hands. After a moment he exclaims "Huiya!" and then "Hau-hau! Hau-hau!" At this, the dancers enter the dance house, passing to the right of the fire up to the drum.

All this time the drummer drums. When the dancers



first enter, they dance slowly sideways, just shuffling their feet and looking toward the fire. Their arms hang loose at their sides, the bow in the left hand, the quiver and arrows in the right; the knees are slightly flexed. When the leader nears the drum, the drum major halts them by exclaiming. The dancers revolve slowly to the right with the right hand raised a little above the head. When all four of the dancers are close to the drum, the drum major exclaims "Uiya!" and all stop, facing the drum, and swing their arms sideways in front of them, with the arms bent so that the forearms are at right angles to the body. This ends the prelude.

The main part of the dance begins with the singer singing and the drum major exclaiming "Hau! Hau! Hau! . . . Huiya!" This is followed again by the exclamations "Hau-hau! Hau-hau!" At the "Hau!" the dancers just move their feet a little, but when they hear the exclamation "Hau-hau!" they start to dance more vigorously. They now dance counterclockwise around the dance house. They dance as though very loose in the knees, shaking all over as they come down on their heels. They turn their heads and bodies in various directions, but remain perfectly erect; they do not bend forward or stick the buttocks out as in some dances. All the while they move the knees and hips almost constantly and the shoulders move with the movement of the arms. As they come down on their heels, they exclaim, "Hai! Hai! Hai!" not very loudly. The quiver and arrows are carried in the right hand, and the dancers swing the quiver and bow as they turn. Sometimes one dancer will hold the bow over his head and the quiver at his side for a moment. Sometimes a dancer will carry the bow in front of him and the quiver behind, or he may reverse the position of the bow and quiver as he dances. They dance in this way around the room to the drum.

The body of the dance consists of four circuits of the dance house like the one just described, each ending in a ceremonial rest in front of the drum, when the dancers halt upon a signal from the drum major. The drum major for this dance does not dance and jump around as in many dances. He merely stands quietly at the left end of the drum. The singer is at the right end, the drummer on the drum.

Meanwhile, except in the rest intervals, the woman (osabe) has been dancing on the right side of the dance house. She dances practically in one spot, swinging her goosedown boa and flexing her knees.

For the finale, one dancer dances to the right towards the door while the other three dance in front of the drum. All four dance in the same style as before. The first man dances facing the fire for the most part, but turning this way and that. As he gets near the door, the drum major exclaims "Hoh! Hoh! Hoh! Hoh! Hoh-hoh! Hoh! Hoh-hoh! Hoh! Huiya!" On the last call of "Huiya" the dancer clasps his quiver on top of his head lengthwise, his bow low in his left hand, turns to the right so that he faces the door, and dances out forward. The singing continues. After the first dancer is out, the next one starts. As the drum major exclaims "Hoh! Hoh! Hoh!" for the first dancer, the second one starts to move his feet a little, and when the first one is out, the second one dances out in the same way. The third one starts in the same fashion, but when he gets halfway to the door, he turns half around upon the drum major's signal and dances out backwards. The fourth and last man dancer repeats the performance of the third one exactly. The singer, drummer, and drum major, followed by the woman, then walk out.

There are two songs for the wehena dance: one sung outside the ceremonial house while the singer and drum major are leading the dancers from the dressing-place, the second sung inside the ceremonial house.

## WOOCHI

The woochi dance is performed by three white clowns. The singer for the dance is dressed in ordinary fashion and carries an elderwood clapper. The dance requires no drummer or drum major. Usually in other dances, in the kuksuyu series for instance, the white clowns act as policemen among the audience (p. 270). In the kuksuyu series they also act as messengers between the dancers.

The clowns dress and make up in the chief's house. They paint each other solid white all over. They wear hair nets, and a black feather ornament (sonolu) is fastened in the hair, sticking out directly in front. At Knights Ferry, this sonolu, of crow or raven (kakulu) and chicken hawk (suyu) feathers, is called nichu. From the middle of the sonolu an extra long feather projects directly over the nose of the clown. On each ankle he wears a cocoon rattle. Each clown wears a necklace of bird heads, called si'i, composed of the heads of bluejays, owls, woodpeckers, sparrowhawks, magpies, crows, and hummingbirds. Quail are not used for this necklace, nor are most small birds, except the hummingbird, the heads of which are mixed in with those of the larger species. Each clown carries a stuffed crane head in his right hand and has a feather belt with a tail about three feet long. If anyone seizes the clown's tail, the clown throws at him a little bunch made up of a piece of jimsonweed root tied with two other plants, called kokisa (or hukosha at Knights Ferry) and hopolisa. This is supposed to stupefy the mischievous spectator. The clowns get these plants from the shamans and after the dance they take the bunches and hide them in some secret place in the hills so as to have them ready for the next fiesta.

Clowns will talk to dancers but not to other people; if anyone else talks to them, they simply reply "Wo!" They are usually quite impassive, seldom changing expression, but when they laugh, they giggle, "Kix, kix, kix, kix," sounding like someone choking.

The singer does not sing on the way from the chief's house. When he has entered, the clowns follow in no particular order, coming in as the singer begins his song. Their hands are placed palms together, the thumbs touching the upper lip, and they hold the crane's head between their hands, the bill pointing forward and upward. They may pass on either side of the fire on the way to the drum. When they get in front of the drum, they run back and forth in every direction, bowing and bending but keeping their heads bowed and their hands in the position described above. Suddenly the leader of the clowns exclaims "Wo!" The singer stops instantly, and the clowns run toward the door, passing either right or left of the fire, and sit down. The singer resumes his song, the leader of the clowns arises and dances to the right towards the drum. He dances as before, turning in every direction, with his hands held together in the same position. In this dance the clown dancers actually step about; they do not just shuffle or mark time, like the dancers in many other dances. Upon reaching the drum the clown leader exclaims "Wo!" and the music stops, the clown standing still in front of the drum. Immediately the singer resumes his song and the next clown dances up towards the drum, passing to the right of the fire and dancing in exactly the same manner as the first. When he reaches the drum, the leader exclaims "Wo!" and the singer stops. While the second clown has been dancing up to the drum, the leader has been dancing back and forth in front of it. The third clown now dances to the drum while the first two dance in front of it. Again as the third clown reaches the drum, the leader exclaims "Wo!" as the signal for a stop. This ends the prelude to the dance.



When the singer starts singing for the body of the dance, the leader dances back and forth between the drum and the fire, dancing first towards the fire, then towards the drum, stooping and turning in every direction. The other two clowns dance towards the door, on opposite sides of the fire. At the door they meet and pass each other, continuing on opposite sides to the drum. Thus they make a complete circuit of the dance house in opposite directions. All three clowns dance with their legs far apart, knees flexed, feet moving together, heels striking hard; the body swings from side to side, with the buttocks slightly protruded. The arms hang loosely at the sides during this part of the dance, the crane head held in the right hand. Each clown turns his head from side to side alternately, looking straight ahead after each side glance. They stoop and turn in every direction. They dance with wide open mouths, hissing and snarling like coyotes and always with angry looks. While they dance, the audience shouts at them derisively in an effort to make them laugh. The names which the people shout at them all refer to the coyote: *katwa*, *aseli*, *situ*, *wayu*, *sūniniksi*, *kasultaliliksi*, *wocholi*, *yuyuwaksi*, *matopolaliksi*. The clowns, however, invariably preserve their composure and do not allow the audience to upset them. Sometimes the spectators will call out various directions in which they want the dancers to turn—east, west, north, south, up, down (*hisun*, *olowin*, *tamalin*, *chummech*, *lile*, *walin*). When this is done, the clowns invariably turn in the direction opposite to the spectator's command. The singer, too, shouts the same orders. When he does this, the clowns turn as he directs. Each time the singer orders the clowns to turn in a certain direction, they respond by exclaiming "Wo!"

The two clowns who make the circuit of the dance house stop at the drum as the leader exclaims "Wo!" The performance is then repeated three times to make the ceremonial four. Each time the leader dances back and forth between the fire and the drum. This ends the body of the dance.

In the finale the leader goes out first, the other two following him. All the dancers start from the drum, stooping and turning in every direction. As the leader jumps into the doorway, he exclaims "Wo!" With his departure the singer does not stop singing, because the other two clowns are still dancing. Each one, as he reaches the door, exclaims "Wo!" and springs out. After that the singer walks out. After the dance the clowns play about the village in silence, never uttering a word. They enter houses, poke into things, and turn everything upside down. Usually they separate, each one playing about by himself, and they may keep this up until morning.

The song for this dance is untranslatable, except for the directions which the singer interjects into his song.

#### KILAKI TOTOYU

In this dance there are eight participants—four men dancers, one woman dancer, a singer, a drummer, and a drum major. The leader of the men dancers is called a *totoibe*, the other men dancers, *subek*. The singer, drummer, and drum major are dressed in ordinary clothing. At the end of the dance, however, the drum major puts on a flicker headband.

The men dancers dress at a rocky place instead of in the bush. They wear the same sort of headdress as in the regular *kilaki* dance (p. 285). They are painted with white horizontal stripes, as in that dance, but do not have red paint on their faces. The stripes extend from the fore-

head to the feet but are on the front of the body only, except on the legs, which are painted in the back as well. Each stripe on face, body, or legs runs across one side only, the succeeding stripe being on the opposite side, just below the preceding one and overlapping it. In other words, the stripes alternate, first one on the left side, then one below it on the right, then one on the left, and so on, the ends overlapping in the middle. Each man carries an elderwood cane about four feet long, decorated with variously colored feathers tied on it from one end to the other. A cape of hawk feathers hangs down the back to about the knees. It is fastened by a tie which passes across the neck behind and then is drawn back under the arms.

The woman dancer makes her preparations inside the ceremonial house. Like the men she has white horizontal stripes painted on her face and down her body to her waist. A boa of white goosedown is wound twice around her head. She carries a similar boa, about one and a half inches in diameter and five feet long, an end dangling from each hand.

When the men dancers are ready, the singer leads them to the ceremonial house. They walk in single file, followed by the drummer and the drum major. The singer sings a special song, different from the one he later uses for the dance inside. The singer, drummer, and drum major go directly into the dance house, passing to the right of the fire to the drum.

As the music starts inside, the four men dancers enter in single file. When they are halfway between the door and the drum, on the right side of the fire, the drum major exclaims "Oh! Oh! Whuiya!" Upon the last expression the dancers bend down with their knees flexed until their fingertips touch the ground, all facing the fire, and exclaim "Hai! Hai! Hai!" bobbing their heads from side to side. Then the drum major repeats his exclamations and the dancers rise slowly to an upright position. Then they dance again. When the leader nears the drum, the drum major exclaims as before. The dance and music cease on the final word. Then the dancers step quickly forward and line up in front of the drum, with their backs to the fire. This ends the prelude.

While the men dancers dance from the door to the fire, the woman dances on the right side of the ceremonial house. When the men bend down at the drum major's exclamation, she dances slowly, bowing her head, and swinging it from side to side.

The drum major exclaims as before, and the dancers start to dance again, from the drum, moving counterclockwise. Just as they leave the drum, the woman moves up and dances in front of it. The men dancers now run around the dance house, swinging their hands back and forth, alternately, in time with their footsteps. When they reach the front of the drum again, they dance in grotesque fashion, turning their heads from side to side and sticking their buttocks out also from side to side. They make a second circuit of the dance house in the same way. As they approach the door on this second round, the woman, who has been dancing in front of the drum, dances back to her original place to the right of the fire. She swings her goosedown boa from side to side continually. When the men reach the door on the second round, the drum major signals for them to bow, as in the prelude. Then they rise again as before. As they near the drum, still moving counterclockwise, he gives a signal for the music and dancing to stop. After this interval the dancers step into line in front of the drum, backs to the fire, as at the end of the prelude.

This dance figure is repeated three times, making the ceremonial four performances.



During the fourth interval, which ends the main part of the dance, the woman walks out of the ceremonial house. Then the men dancers, on a signal from the drum major, run once again around the fire and then dance from the drum to the door, where they go out backwards, one after the other. When they have gone out, the drum major puts a flicker headband on his head, placing it lengthwise so that it hangs down his back. He then circles the fire once before making his exit. As he nears the drum in his circuit, the drummer exclaims "Oh! Oh!." When he stops, the drum major takes up the exclamations, pointing his finger at the drummer as he exclaims. When the drum major is in front of the drum again, they all—drummer, singer, and drum major—stop together. The singer now starts to sing again and the drummer to drum and exclaim "Oh! Oh!" and the drum major dances toward the door. The nearer he gets to it, the harder he dances, trying to make the audience laugh. When he reaches the door, he exclaims "Oh! Oh! Oh!" and dances out backwards. The drummer and the singer follow. The songs for this dance are untranslatable.

### SULE TUMUM LAKSŪ

This dance, whose title may be translated "spirit or ghost emerging from the drum," is supposed to have a miraculous origin. The originator is said to have learned it while watching the ghost of a shaman dance upon a drum in a ceremonial house four days after the death of the shaman. Visitors who come from a distance think that the dancer, called lakusbe, is a real spirit. He is painted with alternate black and white horizontal stripes from his head to his feet, even his fingers being painted. He wears no clothing except his loincloth. He carries a double bird-bone whistle. There is no drummer or drum major; the singer alone furnishes the music.

Before any spectators enter the ceremonial house the dancer secretes himself in a trench under the drum and two accomplices lie down at either end of the drum to conceal the openings. These men appear to be asleep when the audience enters. Often people try to make them move, but they always refuse.

When the audience is seated, the singer, standing at the right-hand end of the drum, begins to sing. The dancer under the drum whistles softly four times, continuing to do so as the singer sings. The two men at the ends of the drum have now moved away. Suddenly the dancer pokes his head out from one end of the drum; then a moment later he pokes it out the other end. He does this a good many times, making the people laugh. After he has done this for some time, he suddenly jumps out from the right-hand end of the drum and steps up on top. He peers this way and that way, whistling as he does so, but does not dance. When the singer stops his song the dancer goes into the pit, head first, and remains there quietly.

When the singing is resumed, the dancer repeats his performance. He does this four times altogether, remaining perfectly quiet during the ceremonial rests. At the end, after he has come from the drum for the fourth time, he crawls out through an underground passage, extending from the drum pit to the back of the house, so that his exit is not observed by the audience. Suddenly, he walks in the door of the ceremonial house, jumping about as he goes up to the drum. He pops under the drum again, goes out through the hole to the outside, and down to the nearest stream, where he washes off the paint.

The song which accompanies this dance explains it as follows.

That's what the ghost danced. That is how he danced after he died. That is the way he used to dance on the drum. He came out each side of the drum after he died, four days afterward. The original dancer of this dance used to be a shaman. Four days after he was buried, he came back to the drum where he used to dance. This man does the same dance that the ghost of the shaman used to do. Just watch this fellow dance. He dances the same as the ghost of the old shaman used to dance. This is the ghost's song which I am singing.

### TEMAYASU

Eight men, ten women, and one singer take part in this dance; there is no drummer or drum major.

The dancers dress at the chief's house. The men wear hair nets and each has a single feather ornament (makki) stuck in his hair, sometimes projecting in front, sometimes behind, but always so that it points upward. On each side of the head there is a small ornament (sonolu) which projects forward. The men wear no paint and no clothing except the loincloth. Each carries a plain elderwood cane about five feet long. The women wear the usual deerskin skirts and flicker headbands that project on both sides of the head. The hair hangs loose down the back. They carry long goosedown boas.

The singer leads the procession, beating time with his elderwood clapper. The dancers, first the men and then the women, enter the ceremonial house in single file. Directly behind the singer comes the dance leader, called temayasu; the men who follow him are called seyapbek. If it proves too crowded, one or two of the men step to one side and watch the others. An exceptionally hot fire burns in the middle of the room. As the procession moves counterclockwise around the fire, the singer steps to his place at the right of the drum. The dancers do not stop at the drum but continue around the fire. The ten women separate, five taking up their position at the right of the fire, five at the left. They stand in line thus throughout the dance. The eight men arrange themselves at equal distances around the fire.

As they march in around the fire, the dance leader keeps on the lookout to see if anyone is laughing at him. If he sees someone laughing, he sticks his cane in the fire and gets some coals on it. Then he strikes the rafter over the head of the person who laughed, scattering the coals everywhere. The dancers themselves are very solemn, no one cracks a smile. If the dancer leader smells "wild onion" on any dancer's breath, he seizes the offender by the hair and pulls him out of the ceremonial house, sending him home. If the audience laughs at this, he showers them with coals. The other dancers do not have this privilege.

The men, standing equidistant about the fire, now dance facing the fire, holding their canes firmly at the top with both hands. They step sideways, with feet far apart, turning their heads to look in the direction opposite their movement, and keeping in time with the song. In this dance the ceremonial rests do not coincide with the completion of the circuit of the fire, as in other dances. The dancers move so very slowly that this would make the dance too long. The stops are therefore made at the pleasure of the singer, regardless of whether the fire has been circled or not.

There are the usual four rests. After the fourth, the dancers all go out in the same order as they entered, the men first, then the women. In a very few minutes after this finale, they return to give a form of the salute dance.



There is only one song for the temayasu dance and it has no meaning.

### SALUTE WITH TEMAYASU

The same dancers who danced in the temayasu perform in this dance also—eight men and ten women. Two of the eight men act as drummers; there is no drum major. The same singer serves for both dances.

When the dancers enter for the salute, the women go directly to their places at the sides of the ceremonial house, five women to each side. They wear the same costumes as in the temayasu dance.

The chief of the village has his tule roll containing ceremonial paraphernalia near the drum and he shows the articles to the dance leader. The leader dons a feather cape, then a feather headdress like a war bonnet. He passes the headdress around his head four times before putting it on. Each of the other men dancers puts on a big feather ornament (sonolu). Its stick is thrust into the hair at the back, so the feathers project above the head. The dancers, like the leader, put on capes. They have left outside the canes they used in the temayasu dance and now each man carries a double bone whistle. This changing of costume inside the ceremonial house is a quite unusual procedure in Miwok dances.

When the dancers are ready, the singer takes the lead. The men dancers follow him on hands and knees, inclining their heads from side to side, and making a churring sound, plainly in imitation of the katydid, for which the dance is named. As the singer walks, he changes the words of his song. At the change the dancers lift their heads up and back and roll them in a circle from left to right. After circling the fire, they all lie flat on their bellies, side by side in front of the drum, feet to the fire and heads to the drum. A white clown now steps up and, rubbing his hands in the ashes of the fire, rubs each man down the back four times from the shoulders to the feet, beginning with the dance leader. After that he runs to the door, sits a moment, peers around at the spectators, who laugh at him, then jumps up and scampers out. The singer and drummer are silent during the clown's performance. This completes the prelude.

After the clown goes out the dancers rise and stretch their arms straight up, all standing abreast, facing the drum. The singer and drummer then start the music for the body of the dance. The dancers, following the leader, no longer crawl on hands and knees as in the prelude, but dance on their feet, dancing backwards with a shuffling motion. They circle the fire counterclockwise. When the dance leader nears the drum, he turns to face it, each dancer doing the same as he reaches the drum. The music ends as the last man turns at the drum. The whole performance is repeated three times, with a rest interval, only about a minute long, after each circuit. Throughout, the women dance in their places at the sides of the ceremonial house, stopping only in the intervals when there is no music.

After the fourth stop at the drum comes the finale of the dance. The dancers move counterclockwise to the door, where they go out backwards, the men first, the women following. Later the singer and the two drummers go out.

After the salute dance the spectators gamble or do anything else they wish to amuse themselves. About two or three o'clock in the morning the clown and the singer return. The singer sings and the clown dances back and forth in front of the drum. The audience laughs at his

buffoonery, and many shout at him, telling him which direction to look in. Each time someone tells him to look in one direction, he looks in the opposite. At the end of the dance he exclaims "Wo!" and runs out the door. The singer stops singing as he leaves. He resumes his song very shortly, and the clown comes running in again and repeats the performance. Altogether he goes through it four times. Then both he and the singer withdraw. Throughout the performance the clown does not talk or laugh. His only exclamation is the word "Wo!" The song for the salute dance is untranslatable.

### TAMULA

Six men dancers (tamulbek) and four (sometimes only two) women dancers, a drum major, a singer, and a drummer take part in this dance.

The men dancers wear hair nets and flicker headbands across the forehead. Two sharp sticks with a white feather at one end, called chalila, are thrust through the hair at the back, sticking out on each side of the head. The dancers are painted all over with white blotches. Each carries a bow and a quiver full of arrows.

The drum major is dressed very much like the dancers, but his flicker headband is exceptionally large and he does not carry any weapons. He has a cane, five feet long, with feathers fastened all over it, some of them being small rectangles cut from flicker headbands.

The women dancers also wear flicker headbands. Their hair hangs loose down the back. They are painted with a horizontal white stripe that extends back from each corner of the mouth, with another stripe running diagonally down and back from the corner of the mouth on each side of the chin. Only the face is painted.

The singer, singing a special song, leads the procession to the ceremonial house, the dancers following him and entering in no particular order. His singing is accompanied by exclamations from the drum major, which are not signals to the dancers. The song is untranslatable. As the dancers enter, the women separate, half going to one side of the house, half to the other. The men proceed counterclockwise to the drum. This ends the prelude.

After the men dancers arrive at the drum, the music starts for the body of the dance. The singer sings, and the drummer drums, using both feet. The drum major now exclaims "Hoh! Hoh! Hoh! Hi!" at which signal the men dancers run rapidly around the fire. The drum major repeats the exclamations. At the second signal of "Hi!" the dancers dance away from the drum, holding the bow in the left hand, the quiver full of arrows in the right. Their movements are not synchronized. One dancer may dance with his head bent over so that it almost touches the ground; the next one may be dancing erect, with arms stretched straight down the sides. They dance in single file, one behind the other, thrusting downward with the hands alternately, first with the hand in which the bow is held, then with that which holds the quiver. As they do this, they lower the shoulder; the motion involves not only the hand or arm but the shoulder as well. As they circle the fire thus, the drum major dances outside of the line of dancers; that is to say, between the dancers and the audience. As the dance leader approaches the drum in his circuit of the ceremonial house, the drum major dances beside him. He holds his cane in his right hand and exclaims "Ah! Ah! Ah!" When he reaches the front of the drum, he ends with "Huiya!" and all music and dancing stop.

In the meantime the women have been dancing in place, with their hands across their breasts, palms in, fingers



slightly flexed, the backs of the fingers of one hand just touching those of the other hand. The elbows project outward on each side.

After the first stop at the drum, the drum major starts the dancers exactly as he did at the beginning, and the performance is repeated to make the usual four and the body of the dance.

For the finale the dancers dance out in the same way as they danced in the body of the dance. The drum major dances on the left side of the drum and in front of it, remaining in the dance house after the men have made their exit. As the men begin to dance away from the drum, the two women on the right side of the house dance sideways up to it. They then follow along behind the men. As each man gets to the door, the drum major exclaims "Ah! Ah! Ah! Ah!" (without the expression "Huiya"). Upon this signal each dancer turns halfway counterclockwise and goes out backwards. The two women from the right side move toward the door, the two on the left following them. The women turn counterclockwise and go out backwards at the signal of the drum major, just like the men.

When all have gone, the drum major continues to dance in front of the drum. After a bit he exclaims "Ah! Ah! Ah! Whi!" the last syllable very long drawn out. The music stops for a moment. In a minute the musicians start the music again, and the drum major starts to dance out, exclaiming "Ah! Ah! Ah!" all the way out. He dances halfway to the door and then doubles back to the drum. He dances to the fire and then back. He makes several feints at leaving before he actually does so. After he has left, the singer and drummer walk out.

The tamula dance song is different from the song sung outside of the ceremonial house; both are untranslatable.

### YAHUHA

The yahuha dance, according to Tom Williams, was sometimes danced to ensure an abundance of food, rabbits, acorns, and so on. On such occasions, not many people were invited from a distance.

Four men and four women dancers, a singer, a drummer, and a drum major take part in this dance. The men dancers are called yahubek.

The men dancers wear hair nets and flicker headbands. Tied around the head over the lower edge of the net is a goosedown boa, the ends hanging down the back to the buttocks; the headband is fastened over this boa. A trembler—chalila, an eighteen-inch stick with two white feathers two and a half inches long attached to it near its distal end—projects sideways from each side of the head. A feather cape is fastened on the back, the tie strings passing under the arms and around the back of the neck. The dancers' faces are painted with four stripes of red on each side, slanting back and down. Each man has a double bone whistle in his mouth and carries a bow and arrow, the bow in the left hand, the arrow in the right. He wears a foxskin or dogskin quiver, with arrows, at the right side in back. During the dance the bow is not drawn but is carried obliquely; the right hand holds the arrow close to the body.

The women dancers wear goosedown boas around their heads, the ends hanging down in back to the waist or buttocks. The hair is not confined by a net, but they wear flicker headbands across the forehead, and small abalone ear pendants, about an inch long. Each has also, thrust through the septum, a shell nose stick (pileku), four inches long, with an abalone pendant hanging from it (Barrett and Gifford, p. 254, pl. 63, fig. 6). The women

wear deerskin skirts and are painted, but on the face only. A horizontal black stripe runs across the entire face just below the nose and below the stripe are white spots. Each woman carries an arrow in each hand, held vertically, point up. The arm is bent so the forearm is at right angles to the body, the elbow held close against the side.

The dance is exceptional in having the drummer in a special costume. He wears a hair net, a flicker headband, and two tremblers (chalila). Sticking up from the back of his head is a cocoon rattle (sokossa), made of four cocoons. It is worn in the same position as the feather ornament (sonolu) of the drum major. The drummer has no cape nor does he carry anything in his hand. Sometimes he is painted like the dancers and the drum major, but as a rule he is not.

The drum major is dressed a little differently from the dancers. He is painted in the same way and wears two tremblers. His flicker headband is exceptionally long, and a tall feather ornament (sonolu) sticks up slanting forward from the back of his head. His cape is fastened like those of the dancers, and, like the dancers, he wears a goosedown boa. Instead of a bow and arrow, he carries a cane of elderwood about four feet long, painted solid red, and like the dancers he has a whistle.

The singer is dressed in ordinary clothes and carries a slender elderwood wand about eight feet long, stripped of bark, not painted. A small cocoon with pebbles in it is fastened to one end. He holds the wand vertical, and in the dance house, when he sings, he taps the ground with it, producing a rattling sound.

The dancers dress in the bush and walk in single file to the dance house. The singer, drummer, and drum major, who have dressed with them at the dressing-place, go first, then the men dancers and the women dancers. The singer sings a special song on the way.

When they reach the door, the singer and drummer walk in to their respective positions at the drum. Then, when the music begins, the drum major enters, exclaiming, "Ya-heh! Ya-heh! Ya-heh! Heh-e-e, heh-e-e-e!" On the last "Heh-e-e-e" a man dancer comes in. The drum major dances, turning in every direction, bending very low and then straightening up, lifting each foot very high so that his thigh is horizontal. His arms hang limp at his sides, and he carries his cane horizontal in his right hand. After the first dancer's entrance, the drum major pipes his whistle rhythmically to the song, keeping time as when he exclaims. The first dancer dances, stepping high, the arrow held under his right arm, point up, the bow horizontal in the right hand. He turns his head from side to side, whistling with each turn, and dances sideways, face to the fire.

The drummer keeps dancing back and forth on the drum, with flexed knees and buttocks slightly protruded. The singer keeps time with his wand. Each time the drummer stamps on the drum, the cocoon rattle he wears in his hair makes a rattling noise.

The drum major escorts the first dancer up to the drum, the dancer following close behind all the way from the door to the drum, whistling as he dances. When the drum major gets halfway to the drum, moving counterclockwise, he exclaims "Ya-heh! Ya-heh!" He does this again as he reaches the drum, when he ends with a long drawn out "Heh-e-e!" The dancer has turned to face the drum, and on the final quavering syllable everyone stands motionless and silent.

As the musicians begin again the drum major exclaims "Ya-heh! Ya-heh!" and proceeds to dance towards the door in counterclockwise direction. Halfway, he repeats his exclamations, and again at the door, this time adding "Heh-e-e, heh-e-e!" Upon the second "Heh-e-e" a woman



enters. The drum major now dances as before towards the drum, to the right of the fire, and the woman follows him, dancing sideways with a shuffling movement and facing the fire. She sways from side to side, bending forward with the knees flexed. She swings her arms from side to side in a wide arc in time with the body movement. She holds her arms away from the body, an arrow in each hand. The drum major dances halfway to the drum, as he did with the first man dancer. He leaves the woman on the right side of the room and she remains there, facing the fire. The drum major goes on to the drum and the woman dances in her place, stopping when the drum major exclaims at the drum.

Now the music starts again and the drum major dances from the drum to the right, towards the door, as before, the woman and the man standing quietly in their places. The drum major escorts the second man dancer to the drum, as he did the first. The second woman, however, goes all the way to the drum. As she reaches it, the music stops and she walks counterclockwise to her position on the left side of the ceremonial house, opposite the first woman.

The drum major brings the rest of the dancers in, escorting the men to the drum and placing the third woman on the right side of the ceremonial house, the fourth on the left. As the fourth woman walks from the drum to her position, the drum major and the four men are all in place at the drum. This ends the prelude of the dance.

As the music begins for the body of the dance the drum major takes the lead, dancing to the right. He exclaims "Ya-heh! Yah!" as he starts, and he turns in every direction as he dances, piping continuously on his whistle. The four men dance sideways only, facing the fire. The women dance in their places, as described above. When the drum major reaches the door he stops piping and exclaims. The four men dancers following him do not change their step but continue dancing as before, blowing their whistles continually. As the drum major nears the drum in his first circuit of the room, he exclaims again. When he gets a little beyond the drum, he says "Ha-e-e," and the dancing and music cease. The dancers face about so that they are looking towards the drum instead of the fire. Three more circuits of the ceremonial house are made, which ends the main part of the dance.

The drum major, dancing always counterclockwise, escorts the dancers out one at a time, the first man, then the first woman, and so on. When he takes the man out, he exclaims at the drum, halfway to the door, and at the door itself. When the dancer, dancing sideways all the way, makes his exit, the drum major exclaims "Ha-e-e!" He then dances on, counterclockwise, and leads the first woman out, exclaiming as he passes the drum but not pausing, and exclaiming a second time when he reaches the left side of the ceremonial house. A third time he exclaims at the door, and as the woman goes out, he adds: "Ha-e-e! Ha-e-e!" He continues to the drum and takes the second man out. He escorts all the dancers out of the ceremonial house in this way, men and women alternately.

When the last dancer is gone, the drum major dances back and forth between the door and the fire, bending and turning in every direction. He exclaims "Ya-heh! Yah-heh!" as he dances. He exclaims a third time as he exits, dancing backwards. Then the drummer and singer walk out.

#### AYETME

The ayetme, according to the informant, Tom Williams, was originally a first menstruation dance. His knowledge

was only hearsay, based on what old people had told him; he had never actually seen it danced on such an occasion. Evidently there is some such connection, for the word ayetme is derived from ayea, "first menstruation."<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the Miwok regard the first menstruation as particularly significant. It is possible that the prelude of the dance, with its jumping step, is a survival of an earlier ceremony in which dancers jumped beside the pit in which the menstruating girl was confined.<sup>9</sup>

The participants in the ayetme dance are a singer, a drummer, and four men dancers called kichaumek, a term obviously derived from kichau, "blood." The singer and drummer are dressed in ordinary clothing; the singer carries an elderwood clapper. The dancers wear only loincloths. The hair is allowed to hang loose, and they wear no nets or ornaments. Their faces are painted with three vertical red streaks on each cheek.

The dancers make ready outside the dance house. With the singer and drummer leading, they all walk in silently. The singer takes his place to the right of the drum; the drummer stands on it. The dancers are grouped in front of the drum in such a way that they form the four corners of a rectangle with its greater length parallel to the drum.

When the singer and drummer begin the music, the four dancers start dancing in front of the drum. The pairs at the short ends of the rectangle change sides, jumping or rather taking a single very long step, passing midway. They continue jumping back and forth in this fashion, jumping simultaneously and in time to the music. They always make the jump, or long step, with the right foot. On landing, each dancer faces about quickly, turning to his right. Then they jump back to their former positions. This is kept up until the singer signals a stop by striking his hand an extra heavy blow with his clapper. The drummer stops at the same instant. This ends the prelude.

The singer then resumes his song, accompanied by the drum. The dancers now line up in front of and parallel to the drum with their backs to it. Once in line, they dance in place, raising and lowering their heels with knees flexed, arms at sides, buttocks protruded. They all four glance first to one side, then straight ahead, moving their heads simultaneously—the two men on the right look to the right, the two on the left look to the left. The singer stops his song four times during this part of the dance and each time the drummer stops also and the dancers halt and stand in position, facing the fire.

When the singer and drummer begin again after the fourth interval, the dancers start towards the door, one following the other at a distance of about four feet. They do not step, but move their feet sideways, legs apart, knees flexed, buttocks slightly protruded. Each dancer keeps his head turned to the left, looking over his shoulder straight at the drum. They dance thus towards the door, facing the fire as they proceed counterclockwise. Each dancer, as he reaches a certain spot near the door, turns to the right so that he is facing full towards the drum, and the singer changes the words of his song for a moment, while the dancer makes the turn and dances out backwards.

There are two songs for this dance. One is sung during the prelude of the dance, when the dancers jump. The other, sung during the body and conclusion of the dance, consists

<sup>8</sup> Subsequent menstruations are called sisea. The word for menses in general is kich'awi, derived from kich'au, blood.

<sup>9</sup> In the mountain villages of Bald Rock and Tuolumne the term ayetme applies only to the first menses observances, not to a dance in the assembly house. A few people may be invited to celebrate with the family, but the affair is not termed a fiesta (kote). The girl uses as a scratching stick an oak sprout ten or twelve inches long, decorated with circling bands of red paint. It is believed that, if she scratches with her fingers, her hair will fall out. The girl bathes at the end of her confinement.



of a constant repetition of the word ayea, "first menstruation."

In this connection it seems well to give a description of the first menstruation observances as performed with in the memory of the informants.

When a girl began to menstruate for the first time, her mother dug a trench inside the dwelling house for her; it was about a foot and a half deep, sufficiently long and wide for the girl to lie in it comfortably. A deer hide was laid in the bottom and another deer hide or a jackrabbitskin blanket, was used by the girl as a covering. She remained in this pit four days, eating only acorns prepared for her by her mother. The rest of the family ate their usual food. The mother attended the girl throughout the period.

For scratching her head the girl had four little pieces of greasewood tied together like a comb, which she stuck in her hair when not in use, or hung from her neck on a string. Greasewood was always used for these head scratchers, not that other wood would be harmful, but because it was customary to use it. It was believed that, if the girl used her fingers in scratching her head, she would be afflicted with a great deal of dandruff, or her hair would fall out. These scratching sticks were used only for the first menstruation.

After four days in the pit the girl came out in the morning and was bathed inside the house with warm water, heated with stones in a basket. After the bath she was painted all over by her mother with white horizontal stripes, which remained until they wore off,

usually in six or eight days. For thirty or thirty-eight days, the girl ate only acorns, tanga seeds, and wataksa greens (*Lupinus latifolius*). It was believed that she would become crazy or sick and waste away if she ate meat.

At the end of this period the girl's father gave a celebration at his house and the girl was allowed to eat flesh for the first time after her menstruation. She ate apart from the other people, however. Guests from neighboring villages, but not from a distance, were bidden to the celebration. This began with a breakfast on the first day and ended with a breakfast on the fourth day. There were no dances, but people ate and talked. Some did not stay throughout the four days. Although the girl's father was supposed to furnish the food, guests might donate a deer or other edibles, if they wished to. At the first breakfast an older girl, of the opposite moiety but not related to the girl, exchanged dresses with her. At this feast the girl's parents replaced all her property, consisting chiefly of baskets, beads, and dresses.

A girl was not allowed to marry until after her first menstruation. No ceremonies were held for subsequent menstruations, but there were certain restrictions. A woman in that condition could not attend a dance; if she did so, it was believed, the dancers' legs would give way. Such an occurrence betrayed the presence of a menstruating woman. She was supposed to remain at home and go about her usual work, including the preparing of her husband's meals. At the end of the fourth day, she bathed in the river, after which she might enter the ceremonial house.

## COMMEMORATIVE CEREMONIES AND DANCES

The four ceremonies described below commemorate events of the recent past. Two, the pota and the suleyuse, are a kind of victory dance to celebrate the killing of murderers. The other two, the hiweyi and the sulesko, are concerned with disease and sickness. These four performances are distinguished from the observances discussed under "Ritual for the Dead," which are occasions for mourning recently deceased relatives.

### POTA

The most important and spectacular of these commemorative ceremonies is the pota, which takes place outdoors, not in a ceremonial house, and usually in a large open space beyond the village. The ceremony is arranged by the village chief for the purpose of affording satisfaction to the relatives of a person who has been killed by violence or witchcraft. This is accomplished by a ritual shooting of effigies which represent the killers, and among the guests are their relatives. The ceremony is thus connected with definite patrilineages (nena).

Account by Tom Williams.—The chief selects the persons who are to take part, usually people who live in or close to his village and always people who have lost relatives by violence or witchcraft. These losses need not be recent; sometimes the death has occurred years before and the effigy may be made by a person who was only a child at the time of the death. An effigy cannot be made of

anyone until he has been dead a year. When no one has been killed since the last ceremony, the same killer may be displayed in effigy again. It is not always certain that the persons represented by the effigies were actually killers, as some of the informants' accounts below show. The guests are usually not told the names of the murderers who are represented by the effigies. Probably this is a precaution against trouble at the time of the ceremony; also, many of the visitors might not join in the shooting if they knew who were represented by the effigies. They find out the names after they return home, usually in an offhand way.<sup>10</sup>

An important, indeed an essential, feature of the ceremony is the use of captive living birds, an example of what I have elsewhere described as the "Bird Cult" (Gifford, 1926a, pp. 394-398). These are usually prairie falcons (*wekwekul*, *Falco mexicanus*), though the bald eagle (*wipayako*) may be used if no falcons are available. A preliminary ceremony is held at the village near which the falcons are captured. During this ceremony a woman dances in the open space before the ceremonial house with a falcon on her head. The birds are kept in the village for ten days before the ceremony and are offered food ritually. On four consecutive days the yahuha dance is performed (by dancers without feather regalia) in honor of the birds. If this observance is neglected, it is believed, people will fall ill and die.

There is a village called Pota near Springfield in Tuolumne County and it is said that the ceremony was

<sup>10</sup> This statement was later contradicted by other informants, see p. 298.



formerly celebrated there every year, although it was also performed at other places.

The village chief usually asks two persons whose relatives have been killed to take charge of some of the arrangements. They are responsible for making effigies to represent the murderers. The invitations to the ceremony are carried in the usual fashion by four messengers, each bearing a knotted string—usually it has ten knots indicating the number of days before the ceremony. Much of the preparation has to be made several days in advance. The sedge used for the effigies has to be cut and dried, and a young pine tree has to be cut down for use as a ceremonial pole (helme).

The chief selects twenty men, called welupek, to go out and cut down a young pine; he does not go with them. They are painted with alternate horizontal stripes of black and white (land moiety); or sometimes one side of the body and face is black, the other side white. Sometimes their bodies are decorated with black or white hand marks (water moiety). They all sing on the way and while they are cutting the tree, but they do not take part in the dance later. They fell the tree with a sharp fragment of quartz. The men go for the pole in the morning and bring it back from the hills in the evening. It is peeled in the village that night, and then painted with red horizontal rings from top to bottom, the paint being applied with the bare hand. Or it may be painted white with chalk (walangasu; found in a spring at Springfield) and then with a black charcoal spiral running from bottom to top. The designs are said to have no symbolism. When the men are peeling and painting the pole, they sing the same song they sang as they went to get it in the morning.

Two persons whose relatives have been killed make the effigies that represent the killers. They wind sedge (kissi) around the pole to make two bulging bundles about ten feet apart. The sedge they use is *Carex*, which is found in swampy places, and it is bound on the pole with a vine (pipila) resembling grapevine. The upper bundle represents the chest, the lower and larger one the abdomen, of the dead killer. For the head they make a ball, about a foot in diameter, of deer hide stuffed with broken sedge, which they tie to the top of the pole with a vine called umazi. Using a bone awl, they pierce the deerskin ball and thrust through the hole an arrow with a flint point, the ends of the arrow projecting beyond the ball on each side. Small baskets, the size of a cup, are tied with umazi vine to the tips of the arrows to represent ear pendants. These baskets are made by the chief's wife especially for this occasion and are of the reddish brown bark of redbud (*Cercis occidentalis*) twigs. Some of this bark, which is called tapatabu, is buried in the ground for about ten days to stain it black, and one basket is made of this black material, the other of the unstained bark. Either the black or the unstained basket may be used on either side of the ball.

Besides the helme pole, there is a shorter pole, bound about with sedge to represent a standing person. This effigy is called "mother" (ūta), and, like the other, it is made by a relative of the murdered people. Men shoot arrows at this effigy, which is then attacked by women with clubs and knives. There is also a bear hide, which is brought to the ceremony by one of the victim's relatives; it represents another killer. Each of the three effigies is called sule ("dead person, ghost"). Sometimes each sedge bundle tied on the pole represents an individual killer; thus this one pole may carry effigies of three killers.

The short pole stands on the ground—it is not elevated—but the effigy may be pulled from side to side by ropes

tied to it. The bearskin, with strings attached to its feet, is hoisted on a tree. During the ceremony it is pulled back and forth by two boys to avoid the arrows shot at it by the dancers.

All the work on the helme pole is done while it is on the ground. Then it is set up in a hole about three and a half feet deep in the center of a clear space outside the village. About a hundred feet on one side of it, the shorter pole, with the second effigy, is set upright in the ground. The bear hide is hoisted on a tree about a hundred feet away on the other side of the helme pole.

Four clowns, called monoyu (cf. monayu, monoya, jimsonweed, *Datura meteloides*), officiate specially at this ceremony; they have two songs for this occasion. They are quite different from the white clowns, woochi, described in connection with the dances inside the ceremonial house. The monoyu clowns are also wizards (tuyuku). Their special feat at the pota ceremony is gazing at the sun while they dance, without being blinded. These sun-gazers are not natives of the village where the ceremony is held, but come from places north, south, east, and west, respectively. They usually appear at the village where the ceremony is to be held some five or six days in advance. These sun-gazers are selected by the chief who gives the ceremony and for twenty or thirty days beforehand they travel around from village to village. People know that their visit is connected with the pota ceremony, though they speak in a fantastic way, talking backwards ("reverse speech"). They may throw dirt or ashes into the face of someone who is asleep or deep in thought and then run off, and they help themselves to food. Each clown wears the tail of a fox or a coyote and impersonates Coyote. They have red paint on the face and black on the body and they wear in each ear lobe a bird-bone tube four inches long, ringed with alternating black and white stripes.

The visitors assemble on the day before the ceremony. They camp on the four sides of the open space in which the ceremony is to be held, but not in the space itself. During the afternoon and evening the sun-gazers keep running back and forth across the clearing from one camp of visitors to the other. Once in a while a sun-gazer will dance for a few moments around the pole. The people dance and gamble and eat, and have a good time generally. The sun-gazers report to the chief who is giving the affair that there are many people waiting for the ceremony to begin on the following morning. Much of the time these four sun-gazers attend the chief.

Early in the morning twenty or twenty-four dancers with bows and arrows come into the clear space from the four cardinal directions. Land moiety dancers have alternate black and white horizontal stripes on the body, face, arms, and legs. Water moiety dancers are spotted with black and white. Each dancer wears a flicker headband which projects on each side of his forehead.

There are four singers and four chiefs, one for each of the four sides. They are dressed in ordinary clothes and wear no paint. Each singer enters with the group of dancers from his side. The singer carries a straight elderwood rod about half an inch in diameter and about eight feet in length, with a single cocoon rattle on one end, containing a piece of quartz. In beating time for the music each singer strikes the ground with the end of his rod, shaking the cocoon rattle.

The dancers come into the clearing in four groups and stop about one hundred feet from the pole, where they dance, one group on each of the four sides of the space, to the north, south, east, and west of the pole. While they are dancing, four dancers break away from one of the



groups and run towards the village of the chief who is giving the ceremony. They have their bows drawn and arrows in place as though ready to shoot. When they reach the village, they scatter and run among the houses, shooting at any baskets they see. If they see a dog in the open, they kill him, shooting him with arrows. The home villagers have no right to object since this is part of the ceremony.

The chief of the four dancers who carry out this raid on the village makes a speech to them. The chief who is giving the ceremony is leaning against the pole in the center of the field, and the leader of the marauding dancers also addresses him, saying:

"Help me out with a little food, for I am going to throw away my arrows. My men are going to throw away their arrows, therefore help me out with a little food. My men are going to dance around your pole."

The chief who is giving the ceremony, and owns the pole, replies:

"Help me out with your arrows; help me out and I will give you some food for your men."

After these speeches, the singer for this particular group, followed by twenty dancers, advances towards the helme pole, singing, and leads them around the pole. He holds his rod upright and keeps time to the song by striking it on the ground as he walks. The two chiefs are standing against the pole as the dancers go around it, counterclockwise, shouting as they make the circuit four times. Then the two chiefs and the singer step away from the pole, and the dancers now run around it, shooting at the two bundles of sedge and at the ball on top of it. They shoot the ball so full of arrows that the white feathers of the arrows make it look as though covered with snow. Each dancer has about forty arrows, which he shoots at the ball and the sedge bundles. Some of the dancers also shoot at the other effigies and the bear hide. When this first group of twenty dancers starts to shoot, the other three groups, who have advanced from their respective sides, retire and sit down well out of range of the arrows.

When the first group has exhausted its arrows, the men run back to their side and sit down. A second group of dancers, who may come from any one of the other three sides, now goes through exactly the same performance as the first. Four men break away from the group of dancers and run about the village of the chief who is giving the ceremony, shooting baskets and killing any stray dogs. The singer for this group sings the same song as the singer for the first group.

After all four groups of dancers have gone through the performance, the chief who is giving the ceremony makes a speech, telling his own people, who are camped in the square made by the visitors, to get ready to feed the dancers. When the dancers have been fed, this chief tells the four sun-gazers to summon the spectators for eating. The sun-gazer from the north tells the people on the south; the sun-gazer from the south, the people on the north. The sun-gazer from the west tells the people on the east, and the one from the east tells those on the west. The chief who is host now tells the people of his village, who have been serving the dancers, to feed the other people also. The food is in baskets; one big basket about "five" feet high is full of acorn soup.

After everyone has eaten, they all go into the ceremonial house of the village. The people of the village now give the kalea dance (p. 282), while the visitors watch.

After that, about noon, the visitors go out and dance counterclockwise around the effigies, shooting at them—some shooting many arrows, others only a few.

It is then that the four sun-gazers have a contest, each trying to overcome his opposite with "poison." The poison they are supposed to shoot at each other is jimsonweed (*Datura meteloides*) root, obtained from the Stanislaus River Valley. Two of the sun-gazers fall to the ground, "poisoned." The two who are not overcome dance, looking straight at the sun, throughout the rest of the day. At sundown they suck the two "poisoned" sun-gazers and bring them back to life; both men seem to be dead. Next day the contest is repeated but the two who were overcome on the first day now get the better of their opponents.

The night following the first day of the pota ceremony is spent in the ceremonial house, where the kalea dance is given again by dancers of the village. On the second, third, and fourth days the ceremonies about the pole are not performed, except the contests of the sun-gazers. The people spend the time gambling and playing games in the ceremonial house. A boy climbs the pole and removes the arrows, which are given to the chief for later distribution to the home people.

On the fourth day the twenty men who got the pole from the woods take it down. They are dressed in ordinary clothing and they do not sing. The pole is laid on the ground. The bearskin is given to the visitor who speaks for it first. He simply has to say, "I am going to have that," and it is given to him. The sedge effigy on the shorter pole, which was simply set up on the ground, is now thrown to one side and allowed to go to pieces. Any visitors who want the two baskets from the helme pole, representing ear pendants, may have them. As can be seen, there is no special ceremony connected with the dismantling of the effigies.

On the night after the pole is taken down, the lole dance (p. 286) is performed in the ceremonial house. After it, the chief hangs up in the dance house a string with four knots, indicating that four days hence he will have a feast for the people of his village.

The next day the visitors leave. Four days after their departure, the chief of the village gives a feast for his own people in the ceremonial house. At this feast, which is the evening meal, the chief gives each grown man a bundle of arrows. The feast is called sipuapu, "pulling the arrows." There is no dancing on this occasion.

Data from various informants.—The chief of Pota village, according to one informant, asks other chiefs to have their people bring him food when the pota ceremony is held at Pota. He then passes the food to people camped in the field opposite the donors. Pota is probably the place of origin of the ceremony, but no origin tale was obtained.<sup>11</sup> One informant stated that the poles at Pota were left standing till the next Pota ceremony.

Other villages for which the pota is mentioned are Tulana, Suchumumu, Hunga (Kroeber, 1925, pl. 37, nos. 47, 63, 82, respectively), and Vallecito. Tulana is upstream from Knights Ferry but on the south side of the Stanislaus River at Rushing's ranch near Keystone. Mrs. Susie Williams and her father Tosusu, chief of Pots, were invited from Pota on one occasion to give the ceremony at Tulana. Later it was given at Suchumumu. Susie said she was given a name which connotes the helme pole of the pota.

In 1883 the ceremonies were given consecutively at Suchumumu near Jamestown, at Hunga, and at Vallecito.

<sup>11</sup> Marikita, from Tuolumne, said that in her early youth a Pota chief, whose name she could not recall, was killed. He was followed as chief by Susie Williams' father, Tosusu.



in Calaveras County, the same prairie falcon being used at all three places. Mrs. Mallie Cox saw the ceremony that year at Suchumumu. Louis, of Knight Ferry, saw the third pota of 1883 at Vallecito, where Old Walker's father and the father's two brothers were contemporary chiefs for the occasion.

All the informants emphasized the importance of captive birds in the pota ceremony. The pota was usually given in summer when the manzanita berries were ripe and young birds were available. The captive birds were kept in the village and offerings of seed were made to them; the act of throwing the seed was called *chuke boken*. A short pole, topped by a small basket ornamented with valley quail crests, was set up outdoors and around it the *yahuha* dance was performed on four consecutive days in honor of the birds. The dancers in this did not wear feather regalia. It was believed that, were the dance omitted after the birds had been captured, people would fall ill and die. Generally the victim would be the chief or one of his close relatives, rather than a common person. The prairie falcon was regarded as a chief among birds.

The birds used in the pota were always raptorial species. The prairie falcon (*wekwekul*, *Falco mexicanus*) was preferred, but the bald eagle (*wipayako*) was also used. The informant Louis, at Knights Ferry, said that the observances described in the preceding paragraph were necessary only for the prairie falcon; other informants, however, said they were required for the eagle also. Marikita, aged informant of Tuolumne, maintained that the pota was never given without a prairie falcon, though she later said that a young bald eagle (*wipayako*) might be used instead. After the pota at Hunga a bald eagle was captured and sent to Vallecito, so the chief there had both an eagle and a falcon for the ceremony. Thereafter they were released.

Anyone may capture a falcon in its nest, but it is kept in captivity by the chief of the village. Marikita said that, at the time (1883) of the pota at Hunga, Tom Williams captured one prairie falcon and a Knights Ferry woman found a nest of four young prairie falcons on a cliff. These last birds died, but Tom's lived. There is no special observance in taking the birds from the nest, and the captive falcon is not given an individual name. When a person who has caught a falcon comes to the village, people go out to meet him and scatter seed of various kinds over him and the bird. If a man is attacked by a parent bird and touched, he is likely to die within a day or so. Once, at Suchumumu, a young chief named Sikaaiwa (Wilson) was carrying a young falcon, which got out of hand and lit on the head of Kesupa, his mother-in-law. The old lady died next day in spite of the shaman's efforts. The bird was recaptured and used for a pota ceremony a month later, while the chief's wife was still mourning her mother.

Mrs. Emmaline Shorts, who saw the pota ceremony at Hunga in 1883, said that one prairie falcon was carried in a baby basket or cradle with sticks across the front to make a cage. Captive birds are fed with small birds like quail and so on. According to Marikita, in the old days the falcon was not tied in the cradle but was confined by rods placed over the top to form a cage. One falcon, very tame, was kept in a box at the Hunga ceremony and turned over afterwards to the chief of Vallecito (Walker's father), who celebrated the pota a month later in his village.

When an eagle is captured, it is kept in a cage and fed; it is not carried in the dance, because it is too big and powerful. If anyone feels ill after handling it, a shaman doctor is called. The sickness usually attacks the throat

first, then the chest, and the doctor, to cure it, sucks out claws or eagle down. In the old days neither falcons nor eagles were ever killed. The feathers of these birds are never plucked out, for people are afraid of them. The hawk feathers used in dance regalia are from the chicken hawk (*suyu*).

In 1883 the prairie falcon captured by Tom Williams was kept for ten days, along with four others, at Knights Ferry. The four died in that period. At the end of that time Tom took his bird to Suchumumu from which invitations to a pota ceremony had been dispatched twenty days in advance. The falcon was later passed on to the chief at Hunga and then to the chief at Vallecito. In the course of the ceremony at Suchumumu, Susanna, Mrs. Susie William's father's sister (*ene*), who was named after the prairie falcon, carried the bird on her head. She also danced with it at Hunga, where the ceremony was held next that year.

The prairie falcon is a totem of both the land and water moieties; the bald eagle is a land moiety totem. The chief who keeps the bird may be of either land or water moiety. Women, one at a time, dance with the prairie falcon, and would dance with the eagle if they dared. The chief takes the falcon out of its cage and hands it to the dancer, who, holding it on her head by its feet, runs with it four times around the helme pole, counterclockwise, making it flap its wings. Dancing with the prairie falcon has no adverse supernatural effect. People of either land or water moiety sprinkle the bird with offerings of seed. They are afraid of it and think they may fall ill if they do not. They may also tie presents on it. At Hunga, Mrs. Shorts saw a water moiety person decorate the falcon with a necklace.

As has been stated, the effigies (the sedge bundles on the poles) represent men who have killed relatives of some of those present at the ceremony. Some informants say, in contradiction of Tom Williams' statement, that the names of these killers or "enemies" are made public in advance. Marikita, an old woman from Tuolumne, says that the names of the killers are announced when the courier (*liwape*) visits the villages which have been invited to attend the pota. He does this a month before the ceremony so there may be ample time to prepare arrows. The killers or "enemies," always men, are called *sule*, "ghosts," because they are dead.

Sometimes the person represented by an effigy or by the bear skin may be known and may be defended. Before the pota the chief of the village assembles his people in the ceremonial house and assigns to certain prominent people the defense of the killers. At Suchumumu and Hunga in 1883, the head (*hana*) on the helme pole represented Susie Williams' father, Tosusu, and it was arranged that Susie and other land moiety relatives of her father's lineage (*nena*) should defend it. The water moiety people attacked the effigy, shooting arrows into the head, except Susie's own sons, who were water moiety too but would not shoot at the effigy of their grandfather on account of their relationship. The head, as well as the pole itself, may be owned privately by several people. At Hunga, Susie's father's sister (*ene*) danced around the helme pole with the prairie falcon on her head. Five people—Susie Williams, Susie's aunt Susanna, a woman named Artima, a woman from Murphys, and Sam Casoose, all of them land moiety people of the Pota lineage (*nena*)—owned the head. The "baby" on the same pole was also a land moiety person.

The water moiety people have a "mother" (*ūta*), an effigy of sedge, made on the short pole and decorated. The land moiety people attack it and, if they win over the defenders, tear it to pieces. The head (*hana*)—as well as the pole itself—may be owned privately by several people.



The helme pole, twenty feet high or more, stands in the center; the bear and "mother" (ūta) poles are on the sides. The helme pole may have a basket on top instead of a buckskin ball to represent the effigy's head; the body is made of sedge and cloth. The bundle in the middle is called "baby" (eselu) and is owned by either moiety.

Louis, of Knights Ferry, saw the third pota of 1883 at Vallecito and says there was no short pole; there was only one pole, the helme, which stood for the water moiety. The bear skin at Vallecito stood for the land moiety. It was attached to a short post, just high enough for it to clear the ground. Mrs. Shorts says the bear skin on the pole is always defended by the land moiety people, even old women taking part in the defense, when the water moiety people try to pull it down and trample and cut it. Mrs. Cox, too, said that even women shot arrows at the effigies in the ceremony at Suchumumu in 1883.

In the 1883 pota at Suchumumu the bear skin represented the land moiety people who had their origin (nena) at Pota; the "baby" (eselu), owned by Suk'k'a and his kinsmen, represented the land moiety people whose origin place was at Kulamu.<sup>12</sup> The "mother" (ūta) was owned by people whose origin place (nena) was Wūyū (number 49 on Kroeber's map, 1925, pl. 37), a village on the Stanislaus River near Melones on the line of the railroad from Jamestown to Angels Camp.

According to Marikita, there are always four killers named and represented by the bear pole, the "mother" pole, the head, and the "baby," the two last effigies being on the helme pole. A land moiety killer is always represented by the bear pole because the bear is a land moiety animal. The big pole (helme), as well as the head and the "baby" on it, may be either land or water moiety, and so may the "mother pole." Before the ceremony is announced, it is decided which of the various objects will belong to each moiety.

One day when Marikita was attending the pota at Hunga, she was cooking acorn mush near some brush huts. It was a hot September, so they were using brush huts. A man came rushing in among them, his bow drawn. Someone had tied up a dog in one of the huts to conceal him, but he dashed out to bite the man. The man turned suddenly, with drawn bow, but he did not shoot because the chief (Kopetme's father) had ordered them not to kill any dogs. The whites had objected. Mrs. Shorts said that some dogs were killed on this occasion, however.

Louis of Knights Ferry said that at the third pota of 1883, at Vallecito, some dogs were killed. The men also shot at baskets of acorn soup.

Mrs. Cox said that women, too, shot arrows at the effigies in the pota ceremony at Suchumumu in 1883. On the second and last day of the pota at Hunga, Mrs. Shorts saw an old woman (the mother of Mrs. Plummer) of the land moiety defending the bear skin, dancing around the pole like a bear and threatening people with her claws. She managed to stop the first water moiety man who ran up with drawn bow to shoot the bear skin, grabbing him by the arm. Then a dozen or so water moiety men with bows and knives and some women without weapons rushed up. One man slashed the bear hide with his knife and pulled it off the pole. Then they dragged it off into the field, trampling and cutting it. After about a hundred yards they dropped it, because the land moiety people

were pursuing them hotly. If the land moiety people had caught their opponents, they would not have injured them; they would simply have chased them away from the bear skin. The water moiety marauders—Sophia Thompson was among them—returned to the center pole, which was the rendezvous for everybody.

### SULE YUSE

The sule yuse, or sule sikanui, may be called the hair dance, or the scalp dance (sule yuse, "dead person's hair"; sule sikanui, "dead person's scalp"). Like the following dances, the hiweyi and the sulesko, the sule yuse commemorates the deed of a shaman. Like them, too, it is said to have originated within the lifetime of the informant Tom Williams, who described the first performance. His story of the dance's origin follows.

There was once a big bad man called Chimio who lived somewhere in Mariposa County. He was exceedingly bloodthirsty, and he shot women and children, as well as men, with his arrows. Chimio was of ferocious appearance, for he had long hair which reached to his knees. Everyone kept away from him since he was very much feared. Yet they tried to kill him, for he was a heartless murderer.

Finally a wizard (tuyuku) from Knights Ferry went south to search for Chimio. When he found him, he shot "poison" at him and killed him right away. Then the wizard cut off Chimio's scalp just around the hair line and took it with him. On his way he stopped at La Grange. Nearby there lived a man whose brother had been killed by Chimio. The wizard turned the scalp over to this man and together they proceeded to Knights Ferry. On their arrival they found that the chief was giving a fiesta. When they told the chief that they had the scalp of Chimio, the bad man, he decided to give a scalp dance. He said: "We will dance it tomorrow morning." They planned the dance and made up a song about the bad man Chimio. The wizard, three middle-aged men (called kalepbek), and two rather elderly women were chosen to take part. The chief asked the singer to compose a song. The singer said: "Yes, I will sing by his name. I know him. I will sing by his name." No drum was used in this dance. The dancers were dressed in ordinary clothes, except for abalone shell necklaces.

Later dances followed the same pattern as the original but were not necessarily performed by the original participants. The same scalp, however, was used for some time afterwards. Later, too, the part of the wizard was not always taken by a real wizard as it was on the first occasion.

The people are assembled in the ceremonial house for the dance. The dancers start dancing outside, perhaps a hundred yards away. The singer, with an elderwood clapper, walks on the right of the men dancers, who dance four abreast. The two women, side by side, follow them. They dance on their way to the ceremonial house. As they near it, the wizard tosses the scalp into the air, calling the name of the bad man at the same time. The singer stops singing and the dancers stop dancing when they reach the ceremonial house. The old women go in with the singer, while the four men remain outside.

The singer passes to the right of the fire and takes his position near the drum. The women walk in and one goes to one side of the ceremonial house, one to the other. The singer begins a different song, to which the women dance,

<sup>12</sup> Pota is at Springfield and Kulamu at Luke Camp, both in Tuolumne County, nos. 69 and 84 on Kroeber's map, 1925, pl. 37.



moving their shoulders from side to side and stamping their feet very hard in time with the shoulder movement. Their hands are clenched and they hold their fists against their stomachs. They dance thus four times, stopping each time when the singer ceases singing. When the singer begins his song for the fifth time, one of the men dancers enters. He dances to the right of the fire, stooping and turning in every direction, until he reaches the drum. When he gets to the drum, the singer stops, and the women and the man halt. When the singer starts again, the second dancer comes in. As he, too, dances up to the drum, the first man and the women dance as before, the first man dancing in place in front of the drum. After another stop, the third dancer comes in, while the first two male dancers continue to dance in front of the drum.

When the three men dancers have entered, the wizard follows them. He dances, squatting. He squats so low that his buttocks almost touch the ground. He tosses the scalp up into the air, calling the bad man's name. Once in a while he throws it on the ground and dances on it, at the same time calling Chimio's name. While he is dancing in this way towards the drum, the other three men dance in front of it. On the original occasion the ceremonial house was full of people, who watched the performance in speechless amazement.

When the wizard reaches the drum, the singer stops. Soon he begins singing again and the men dancers dance back and forth in front of the drum, the women remaining at the sides of the house. As the four men pass each other, they throw the scalp back and forth among them. They turn in every direction as they dance, and as one throws the scalp to the other, he calls the bad man's name. They dance thus for four periods, stopping each time when the singer ceases his song. After the fourth interval, the two women dance out from their positions at either side of the ceremonial house. They dance out facing the door, while the four men dance in front of the drum. As soon as the women go out, the singer stops his song, resuming it almost immediately.

When the singer begins singing again, the dancer who came in first dances out to the right of the fire, stooping and turning in every direction as he did when he entered. The two others dance out in the same way. Meanwhile the wizard dances in front of the drum. He continues to dance for some little time after the three men have gone. The stop which follows the third man dancer's exit is marked by an unusual act. The chief steps up in front of the drum and hands the wizard an arrow with his right hand. The wizard sticks the arrow through the middle of the scalp from the under side, and hands the scalp and arrow to the chief. The chief steps back and the singer resumes his song, while the wizard dances back and forth in front of the drum, and then starts to dance out. When he has danced halfway out he retraces his steps back to the drum, so he is slow in going out. He dances to the right of the fire, dancing in the same fashion as when he came in, squatting very low and then straightening up. As he goes backwards out the door, the singer stops singing.

The scalp is kept with other dance paraphernalia, rolled up in a tule mat with other articles, like the kuk-suyu costume. The chief keeps the bundle. The informant, Tom Williams, said that the purpose of the scalp dance was to ridicule Chimio. It did not hurt him, Tom said, but it made his relatives feel badly. Tom Williams was the singer for this dance after the original singer died. During his time they still continued to use the original scalp.

The song for the sule dance may be translated as follows.

That's what he [the wizard] said when he came, when he brought that bad man. That is what he said when he brought that bad man. That's how he got the song from the spirit. That's what he said when he brought him; when he brought that bad man named Chimio. The wizard said: "I guess I'll take him to the fellow who lost his brother." That is what the wizard said after he had killed the bad man. "I am going to take him toward the north; I guess I'll have lots of fun with him. I killed that fellow who always killed the people he met."

Now the wizard is going, going towards the north. "I'll take Chimio's scalp to the man who lost his brother through Chimio. Then he can do whatever he pleases with it." The wizard said this while he was carrying Chimio's scalp to the north. The wizard is crying all the way as he is coming from the south. He is crying for the "poison" that he lost in killing Chimio. He left Chimio's body and head under the big rock. He left it there for the wild animals to eat.

"That is how they are going to handle Chimio's scalp, I suppose, when they get it over there [Knights Ferry]. I suppose they will have a dance when they see this scalp of Chimio's."

When the chief saw the scalp he said: "Go ahead and dance now." That is what he said to the people. "He is a fellow who used to hate us very much. This hair belonged to Chimio," the chief said. From each side of the fire two old men dance. No one says a word when they dance the spirit dance.

This fellow Chimio used to make the people cry all the time when he killed their brothers, their fathers, and their mothers. He used to laugh at them after he had stabbed them, and while the poor people were suffering and crying for help. Victims used to do their best to call their fathers or their brothers. They did that when he was killing them. When they spoke thus he used to laugh at them and hit them with stones. He used to be a bad man and it seemed as though nothing could happen to him. Now he is dead and we will have a dance over him. His hair and scalp are over here now. We have his hair and we will make fun of him through his scalp. His hair is over here, away from off the place where he lived. His scalp is away off from his body and head, which are at the place where he was killed; where he took his last breath. The chief has hold of his scalp now. He will keep it until it is rotted. That's how they sing about the dead man's spirit. That's how they sing.

When the chief got hold of his scalp, he told his wife to get an arrow, so that he could give the arrow to the wizard after the dance. The chief said that he was glad that Chimio had been killed and that he was glad that the scalp had been brought to him. "Now we shall always have a scalp to dance upon. We have been afraid too long of this man Chimio. Now I guess we will dance and throw his scalp and hair up in the air. We will dance now." That is what the chief said when he told the singer to make up a song.

The wizard who killed Chimio was a very young man. He understood how to handle the poison. When he shot the poison at Chimio he shot two kinds at him. When it hit him it lifted him off the ground. When he struck the ground with his face he died.

Now we will dance and have a good time. "That is how we handled him." That's what the dancers say when they throw his scalp up in the air. After he was killed



no one found him. He just rotted away out in the hills, and the wild animals ate half of him.

## HIWEYI

The hiweyi dance, like the preceding sule yuse and the sulesko that follows, celebrates a shaman's performance. All three dances are said to have originated during the lifetime of the informant, Tom Williams. The dance is also given among the Northern Miwok at Ione, Amador County. Tom Williams, who took part in the first dance, accounts for its origin as follows.

A Costanoan [some informants said Yokuts] from Pacheco, Contra Costa County, settled near Knights Ferry when he was about ten years old. He went by the name of Chiplichu,<sup>13</sup> and when he grew up, he married a Miwok woman of Knights Ferry. He became a sucking shaman (koyabi). [Tom Williams said that his practices as a shaman were peculiar, that they were Costanoan practices rather than Miwok, which is not unlikely, for he probably learned them from his father.] After becoming a shaman, Chiplichu danced and sang in his home every night, and he was in the habit of talking with the spirits. His house was situated half a mile from the ceremonial house at Knights Ferry.

One day some Northern Miwok from Ione visited Knights Ferry and said that there was an epidemic of smallpox at Ione. They said it was traveling towards Knights Ferry. The Knights Ferry people were very much frightened by this news and many of the men went up into the hills. The women were left behind in the ceremonial house, which was closed up tight. Twelve men [one of them my informant] sat down just below the summit of a high hill, where they sang under the direction of the shaman, Chiplichu, who was behind them on the summit of the hill. He danced on the summit, and as he did so, he kept pointing a large cocoon rattle towards Ione. The singers who were in front of him were facing Ione also. He and the singers sang four songs. While he was dancing during the last song, he kicked the ground very hard with his right foot and sank into it waist deep. Then he stooped down and talked to a spirit in the ground. He asked the spirit if the Ione people were telling the truth. The spirit replied: "There is no sickness coming at all. There is no sickness over there." Then the shaman told the singers that there was no sickness coming, and the singers went back and told the people that everything was all right.

The informant said that a shaman who practised as this one did is called a hiweyi. The four songs sung on the hilltop by the shaman are, in order of singing, the chikilmina, the hoholoyu, the hahayua, and the hahamaka. The informant was unable to give the meaning of any of these songs, except the last. He said that the songs were understood by Ione, Livermore, and Pacheco people. The hahamaka song has the following words.

Tell me, spirit, is the smallpox going to come this way? All of the people are afraid; they are scattered out in the hills. People do not believe that I can find out whether the smallpox is coming. That is why they

told me to ask you if the smallpox is coming. I want you to tell me if it is coming or if it is not coming. Well, spirit, if there is no smallpox coming, we will go home now. We will tell all the people to come back, so that they will not be frightened any longer.

After this the Knights Ferry people held a ceremony, called the hiweyi dance, for four nights. The ceremony was in charge of Chiplichu, who, it is said, learned this dance from the spirit whom he talked with on the hill. The informant said that all subsequent performances of the hiweyi were imitations of the original ceremony performed by Chiplichu in the ceremonial house at Knights Ferry after he had discovered that the Ione people were lying. Each evening the ceremony was begun by Chiplichu scratching each person in the dance house with a white stone, then sucking a little blood from each and spitting the blood into a basket, a performance well in line with his profession of koyabi, or sucking doctor. After he had sucked everyone he danced. He was accompanied by the same twelve men who had sung on the hill with him. In addition, a singer, of the kind that usually sings on such occasions, accompanied Chiplichu in the ceremonies in the dance house. The original singer was named Koho; he was a cripple who could not walk but had to pull himself around by his hands. Koho was the stepfather of a half-breed, Charley Gomez or Wininu, who lived at Jamestown and Knights Ferry.

Each night Chiplichu danced from a little after dark until about midnight. After midnight the people who had come from a distance slept in the ceremonial house. The people who lived in the neighborhood went home. Chiplichu stayed in the dance house at night.

The following songs, sung in the ceremonial house on each of the four evenings on which the hiweyi dance was originally performed, were also used in subsequent performances of the hiweyi dance. In the first song, Chiplichu reassures the people in the ceremonial house.

There is no smallpox. That is what the spirit said. That is what he said. The people wanted me to find it out and I did find it out. That is what the spirit told me when I talked to him out on the hill. Now you people must not be frightened, for no smallpox is coming. That is what he told me when I asked him.

No smallpox is coming. You people do not need to be frightened. You do not need to be worrying about yourselves and running over the hills for nothing. People, come home. Tell your folks to come home. There is no use to be running around out in the hills just because you are afraid of smallpox. The people over there [Ione] just fooled you. They frightened you by telling you about smallpox. There is no smallpox over there. There is no smallpox over there. Do not you people become frightened. Never believe what those people tell you again.

After this the crippled singer, keeping time with an elderwood clapper, sang a song, while Chiplichu danced. The song follows.

Listen people, listen. He is going to dance his song for you. He is going home. He is going to dance, going to dance. He is hungry, having had nothing to eat since he went out in the hills. He is dancing before he eats. That is the way he dances in a ceremonial house. All of you people watch him. You will not see him dance again for quite a while. He is dancing, he is dancing. All of you people are now all right. He has done your

<sup>13</sup> No translation was obtained for this word and it is perhaps Yokuts or Costanoan.



people a favor, a favor to all of your people out in the hills. You people can stay home now, you need be afraid of nothing. That is what he said when he came to the dance house from out in the hills.

After Chiplichu had danced awhile he sat down. Then both he and the singer sang two songs called mulupu. The informant did not know the meaning of these songs.

When Chiplichu danced again, the following song was sung by the crippled singer.

That is what he says when he gets ready to go.  
That is what he did for the people while he was over here. But he is going home today. Now all of you people had better watch, for he is going to give you his last dance. That is what he did when he was dancing. Just watch him turn in different directions while he is dancing.

This song was sung while Chiplichu made one circuit of the fire in a counterclockwise direction. When he reached the place where the singer was sitting near the drum, he stopped. When he started to dance again, the song of the singer was somewhat changed. As Chiplichu danced around the ceremonial house once more, the singer sang as follows.

People, watch him dance now. He is going, he is going. You know he is not dancing for fun. The people towards lone fooled us. This is his last dance in this ceremonial house. He said to me, "Singer, sing. Sing loud. I am going to dance a little bit harder. This is my last dance; then I will go home."

At the end of his circuit of the fire, Chiplichu stopped again near the singer at the back of the ceremonial house. For the next circuit by Chiplichu, the singer continued to sing as follows.

The hiweyi said to me: "I am going home now. Will you sing that song for me? I am going home." He said, "I am going to put these rattles away." Going, going now. Everybody should be satisfied now. He is going, see him going out. See him going out. He is going out backwards. He is going out now. You people can have a good time. He is going home.

Chiplichu wore a feather boa called hichli, which passed across the back of his neck and was drawn back under his arms from the front, the two ends being joined behind to form a tail. He carried a cocoon rattle, called wasilni, in each hand, and a third cocoon rattle was fastened in his hair. He wore a wreath on his head, made of stems and leaves of mugwort (*Artemisia vulgaris*) twisted together, and his hair was held firmly by a net. Four bunches of split crow feathers attached to sticks completed his headdress. Each of these feather ornaments was about two feet long and tied with deer sinew. They were thrust in his hair, one sticking out in front, another in back, and one on each side. The cocoon rattle which he wore on his head was fastened at the back, with the rattles up. A tule mat, said to be six inches thick, with armholes, was worn very much like a shirt and reached to the knees. It was held by a string around the neck, tied in front. Under the mat, Chiplichu wore a piece of deerskin about his middle. He was not decorated with paint.

As he danced, he held a cocoon rattle upright in each hand. He held the rattles away from him at about the

level of his breast and swung them together from side to side. While the ceremony was going on, the people were supposed not to smoke. Whenever Chiplichu saw anyone smoking while he was dancing, he turned around four times, then danced up to the offending individual. He went on dancing, but rubbed his hands four times down the arm of the offender that held the pipe. After the fourth time he took the pipe away from the man. Then he danced up to the fire, made four passes with the pipe over the fire, and finally threw it into the blaze. He did this because he was told in his "dream" to allow no one to smoke when he danced.

Although the fate of Chiplichu is not connected in any way with the hiweyi dance, it is of interest to tell the story here. The account may perhaps be taken as a modern adaptation of the story of the rolling skull. According to Tom Williams, Chiplichu was murdered by Indians about 1859, stabbed through the side with a sword. He laughed at his four assailants, and they stabbed him again from the front, just below the breastbone. They stabbed him all over, but could not kill him. They felled him to the ground, and hit him with great numbers of stones, but all to no avail; he still lived. Then Chiplichu spoke to his assailants and said: "There is no use to stab me, you cannot kill me that way. You will have to cut my head off. If you just merely stab me in the body I will not die." So they cut off his head, but he still lived. In fact, he continued talking after his head was cut off, because, as the informant explained, a spirit was holding him. While Chiplichu was being murdered, his wife, who was present, called in vain for help. The murderers threw his body into the Stanislaus River.

The murder was committed at Knights Ferry. After Chiplichu's death his head remained in the vicinity of the bridge across the Stanislaus at Knights Ferry. It is said to roll after people who cross the bridge at night. The informant Tom Williams stated that he had seen the head, and that several white people had also seen it. Informant Louis had heard of a "rolling head" which used to be at Knights Ferry, but he knew no name for it and did not know where it came from.

Tom Williams said that Chiplichu was murdered because he was a shaman and hence better than ordinary men, which made them jealous. They hated him also because he was a foreigner.

Additional but somewhat contradictory information about Chiplichu was obtained from the informant Louis at Knights Ferry in 1923. He stated that Chiplichu was a dancer and an alini (shaman), and his people were all Yokuts and used to come to Knights Ferry to dance. From observing them the Knights Ferry people learned new dances, of which hiweyi was one. When Chiplichu came to Knights Ferry, Louis was already a young man. (In 1923 he asserted that he was eighty years old.) Chiplichu danced hiweyi (as described by Tom Williams) on the tablelike hill to the west, below which the highway now runs. The hill is called Choyochoyu.

At the time of his death, which, according to Louis, was natural and not by murder, Chiplichu was living below La Grange on the Tuolumne River. Louis was thirty-five or forty years old at that time. Louis did not know the name of Chiplichu's original home.

## SULESKO

The sulesko may be properly called the devil or spirit or ghost dance and is said to have originated at Suchumumu, near Jamestown. Like the hiweyi and sule yuse, this dance



is said to have originated within the memory of the informant, Tom Williams. He described the original dance and the occasion which prompted it, as follows.

A man saw a ghost [lesisko] one day on Table Mountain near Suchumumu. He became sick after he saw it, and he said to the doctors [koyabi]: "I guess you fellows can try to get that ghost out of me." A doctor sucked on the sick man and extracted the ghost's fingernails and skin, but the man still remained sick. They could do nothing for him, and it seemed as though he would die. They thought the ghost had got the sick man's "wind," so the chief said to some of the men: "I guess you fellows can dance around and give him a song." That is what the chief said to the men who were with the sick man. The men said they would do so. Four men went out and got a deer hide and made masks which just fitted over the face. There were holes for the eyes, nose, and mouth, and the mask made the face look like a skull. They rubbed charcoal around the eyeholes, to make them black. All of this was done about midnight. Except for these masks the dancers wore only the buckskin about their middles. The leader of the dancers was called sulesbe, his followers sulesbeng ayumetis.

After all was ready the sick man was taken into the ceremonial house and seated near the drum, with a woman on each side of him to support him. A singer and two drummers supplied the music. The singer sang the sulesko song, while the two drummers stood on the drum and stamped on it very rapidly, making a rumbling noise. Then the four men with the masks crawled in through the door on hands and knees, one behind the other. The leader went a little way, then raised his head and looked at the sick man, who was watching him. Then the leader ducked his head, and the other three came up, one after the other, raised their heads, looked at the sick man, and ducked their heads again. They all made curious gestures at the same time, getting closer and closer to the sick man. They kept this up until they were very near the invalid in front of the drum.

Suddenly all four dancers sprang at him and seized him. They all carried bone whistles and they now blew short quick blasts. They stopped in a moment and each dancer took one of the limbs of the patient and rubbed down it with their hands. After this, they crawled out of the dance house on their hands and knees, as they had entered, the last one to enter going out first, the leader bringing up the rear.

After a pause the singer and the drummers started the music again. The four dancers returned, standing this time, two dancing to the right, two to the left. They kept watching the sick man as they danced up to him, two on each side of the fire. They made all kinds

of gestures and never took their eyes off him. The two pairs passed each other, directly in front of the sick man, and the couple which had danced in to the right of the fire and facing forward now danced out backwards to the left of the fire. The other pair went out in the same way, but to the right of the fire, reversing their earlier routine, in similar fashion. All the time they kept their eyes on the sick man.

This second part of the dance was repeated three times, making the ceremonial four, and may be considered the body of the dance; the part described at the beginning, when the men crawled on hands and knees, may be considered the prelude. There was, however, no actual conclusion. After the dancers had gone out, three sucking doctors [koyabi] came into the ceremonial house and sucked the sick man, one at a time. There was a big audience looking on.

This narrative describes the original performance of the sulesko dance, which was arranged for the benefit of a sick man. The story was given an effect of great probability by the fact that the informant gave me the names of the sick man and of the dancers who took part. Later performances of the sulesko dance usually serve only amusement or ceremonial purposes, and on these later occasions there is no doctor [koyabi]. There are merely the dancers, the musicians, and the sick man, with the attending women.

The song for the sulesko dance may be translated as follows.

That is what the spirit sings when he comes from Sinenu.<sup>14</sup> That is what he sings when he comes, when he comes on his trail from Usnekkotimo.<sup>15</sup> That is what he says when he comes from Kakulchakama. That is what he says when he comes from Yangatamū,<sup>16</sup> where he goes to get the yangata. That is what he sings when he comes to the edge of the mountain. That is the place that the spirits came from to get that sick man. When he saw them, then he became sick. He saw the spirits when he was standing on top of the rock. They were just nothing but bones. That is how he became sick. Now we will try to get that sickness out of him. That is the only way we will try to make him well. It is a pretty hard thing to make him well. The spirit comes from Sinenu to kill this man. He comes through Usnekkotimo. That is what the spirit sang when he came out from Kakulchakama. That is what he sang when he came out from Yangatamū. That is what the spirit sang. He said that the people were always afraid of him.

<sup>14</sup> A place four miles east of Knights Ferry.

<sup>15</sup> Two miles east of Sinenu.

<sup>16</sup> A big cave near Goodwin's ranch.

## PROFANE DANCES

The profane or common dances are recognized by the Miwok as a separate category. These dances present no

element of danger to either the participants or the audience, and are performed purely for entertainment.



## AHANA

The participants in this dance are two singers, eight men dancers, and six women dancers, all called ahantbek. The men belong to one moiety, the women to the other. It makes no difference to which moiety the singers belong. The singers and dancers do not live in the village at which the dance takes place but are visitors who come to attend the fiesta. The singers and dancers wear no regalia and are dressed in ordinary clothes, as are the villagers who act as hosts. The dance is held outside the ceremonial house and no drum is used.

The two singers start singing in the early morning out in the bush, where the dancers have assembled. The visiting chief, who has accompanied his dancers from their village, goes to the chief who is giving the fiesta and tells him that his dancers want to dance the ahana. The chief who is host then instructs his people to prepare food and presents for these visitors. The chief of the visitors goes back to the bush and tells the dancers to get ready.

About noon the dancers start for the ceremonial house of the village. There is no singing or dancing on the way. The dancers line up in two lines facing each other, outside the entrance of the ceremonial house, the women on the left of the doorway, the men on the right. There is a singer at the end of each line of dancers, at the end farthest from the dance house. The singers carry elderwood clappers and sing and clap in unison. When they change their song for the first time, all the dancers sing too. When the singers stop, the dancers stop singing and dancing. When the singers begin again, after a very short interval, the dancers continue to dance, but do not sing.

The dancers in each row stand three feet apart and dance in their places. The women bend their knees slightly, but do not move their feet. The arms are held at the side and the forearms, with closed hands, are alternately raised to a horizontal position. The men, like the women, dance without moving the feet but simply bend at the knees, at the same time sticking out the buttocks a little. They swing their arms upward from the shoulders, both at the same time. On the return motion the arms drop to the sides.

While the dance is going on, the villagers give the visiting dancers presents of food, baskets, arrows, and so forth. Perhaps one dancer will get only one present, while another gets several. Each donor dances for a moment beside the dancer to whom he is making the present, long enough to receive a small present in return, perhaps a string of beads. After the donor leaves, another villager may come up and give a present to the same dancer, dance for a moment at his side, receive a present in return, and then step out of the line of dancers again. The hosts always give their presents to a visitor of the same sex but of the opposite moiety from the host.

After all have given their presents, some of the home villagers make other gifts: for example, a horse, an olive shell necklace, a bear hide, a basket, a bow with arrows, or a tanned deer hide. These are given to indicate that the donor wishes to become a friend of the visitor. Here again the same distinctions of sex and moiety are observed. The home villager who wishes to have the friendship of one of the dancers walks up to him and lays the present down in front of him or ties it to one of the dancer's feet while he is dancing. If a horse is presented, the donor ties a horsehair string to the dancer's foot. Most other presents are laid in front of the dancer. The present is never carried but is dragged in the dirt. The dancing is kept up throughout these presentations. The

dancers continue dancing after the last present has been made. When the visiting chief thinks his people have danced long enough, he tells them to stop. After that all go inside the ceremonial house to eat. It is not a matter of ceremonial importance who enters first. The singers sing right up to the time the chief gives the word to stop.

At a later time, usually the following summer, the visiting dancers or, rather, they and their fellow villagers, act as hosts to a group of dancers from the village which has entertained them. On this occasion they make gifts of equal value to the guests who presented them with presents, as described above. It sometimes happens, however, that the original dancers may make a second visit and dance the ahana before their hosts have called upon them.

The ahana is not danced by every group of visitors at a fiesta; in fact, it may not be danced at all. The ceremony is held only at the wish of a visiting chief or his people and is evidently an expression of friendship. Anyone can participate in the dance, since no sacred objects are used. The song for this dance cannot be translated.

A Southern Miwok informant tells me that the Central Miwok have borrowed the ahana from his people. Among them, however, the ahana has a very different character. It is performed when property is being destroyed at a funeral or at a "cry" or mourning ceremony. In its adoption by the Central Miwok, the essential feature, which consists of giving away property, has been retained, but is placed in an entirely different setting.

## ALETU

Like the ahana, no costumes or regalia are used in the aletu dance, although it is held inside the ceremonial house. Four or five men and the same number of women take part. Like the ahana and ulula (p. 306) anyone who wishes may take part; unlike most other dances no special training is required. Two of the men are called aletbek, the other two or three nutupbek. The women have no distinctive name, but are spoken of as osabek, as in most other dances. There is a singer (but no drummer or drum major) and two black clowns called humchilwek, who form part of the audience and perform a short dance at the end, the humchilwe.

The singer (sometimes two singers, only one of whom has a clapper) is already seated in the dance house, singing a song in time to the beat of his elderwood clapper, when the dancers enter. He sings a different song, however, when the dancing starts. The dancers troop in together, and as they come in, the singer stands up. The women all go in a group to one side of the fire—it does not matter which side.

The men walk along until they reach the front of the drum. Then two of the men (the aletbek) dance from the drum to one side of the fire, one on either side. If there are only two nutupbek, one goes with each aletbe; if there are three, one goes with one aletbe, two with the other. These nutupbek stamp the feet, at the same time moving their shoulders backward and forward, first the right shoulder, then the left. Their arms dangle at their sides. They accompany this movement with a loud panting. The aletbek dance in the same way as the nutupbek, but without panting. They turn in every direction. The singer changes the words of his song as he sings. At the change, the two aletbek utter a long drawn out "Huh!" at the same time raising the right hand high in front but leaving the left arm dangling at the side as before. Each aletbe, as he raises his right hand, dances up to the fire. After that he dances



up to his nutupbe and starts with him toward the drum. When both the aletbek are in front of the drum, they raise their right hands and say, "Huh!" as before. The singer stops and all rest. In the meantime the four or five women have been dancing sideways back and forth along one side, facing the fire. First they dance sideways towards the drum, then towards the door, stamping their feet in time with each other.

The performance described above may be repeated as many times as the aletbek wish. In this respect, the aletu resembles the ulula and ahana. It is not necessary to perform the dance figure the customary four times, as is usual in the sacred dances. The aletu also resembles the ulula and ahana in the absence of a definite prelude and finale, which are such conspicuous features of the sacred dances.

The dance is brought to an end when one of the aletbek raises his right hand and says, "Huh! Huh!" He does this when the men dancers are near the drum. The aletbek tell the singer when they decide to stop dancing. The dancers go out or remain inside the ceremonial house just as they please. There is no ceremonial exit as in the sacred dances. The two songs for this dance are untranslatable.

During the dance the two black clowns (humchilwek) have been passing about in the audience. They are completely blackened with charcoal, and each wears a large rabbitskin blanket hanging from his shoulders to his heels. They have no rattles on their feet, as the white clowns have, nor do they carry whistles or anything else. They wear rabbitskin ear pendants about a foot and a half in length, and their hair is made to stand up straight and stiff. They maintain a complete silence and never even smile when passing about the audience. The informant knew of only one aletu dance where these clowns were not present. That took place at Knights Ferry.

An informant near Groveland in 1913 gave me a vague description of a dance he called the aletu, which may be a local variation of the one just described. He said that ten or twelve women with spots of red and black paint on their faces danced it.

According to the informant Louis, the Knights Ferry Miwok learned the alte dance (presumably the aletu) from the shaman Chiplichu and his people. Louis thought that Chiplichu was a Yokuts.

### HUMCHILWE

The two black clowns who give this dance are mentioned in connection with the aletu. There is no regular singer for this dance, which immediately follows the aletu. The clowns sing themselves, and the song is untranslatable. Sometimes they dance in front of the drum, sometimes near the door, sometimes on one side of the fire, but always side by side in one spot, facing the fire. While they dance, they hold their rabbitskin blankets close together across the chest, grasping the edges. They dance by bending the knees, merely lowering and raising themselves in one spot, and looking straight ahead. After four stops they walk out, looking from side to side at the people as though "crazy." On the spot where they danced the audience sees a large pile of white bird down, sometimes six inches deep, which they have dropped while they danced, concealing it from the audience by the long rabbitskin blankets.

### HELIKNA

The helikna is usually danced by one woman called a welupe, although sometimes there are two dancers, who dance side by side. The dancer is accompanied only by the singer with his elderwood clapper. He enters the ceremonial house first.

The dancer dresses outside the house. She wears a white goosedown boa around her head, the ends hanging down her back to her waist. Her hair hangs loose, being held in place only by the boa. The woman fastens the boa on herself; she does not have to pass it four times over her head, as she would for a sacred dance. She is not painted, but is dressed in ordinary fashion in her buckskin skirt.

When the singer begins to sing and clap, the woman dances in backwards, keeping to the right of the fire. The singer stops singing as she reaches the drum, and she halts. Her dance is a sort of shuffle, the shoulders moving slightly in time with her steps. She carries a goosedown boa about eight feet long, doubled so that the ends do not drag on the ground. She holds her upper arms close to her sides, the forearms folded across the stomach.

The singer resumes his song after the brief stop, and the dancer dances sideways, keeping her face to the fire. She dances around to her right until she reaches the drum again, when there is another brief ceremonial rest. She circles the fire three more times in the same way, stopping at the drum briefly after each circuit. When the dancer reaches the drum for the last time, the singer gets up and walks to the door, passing to the left of the fire. At the door he starts to sing again, and the woman dances forward from the drum toward the door and goes out, followed by the singer.

As will appear from the translation of the helikna dance song, given below, it was the custom of the spectators to make presents of various objects to the dancer. The song emphasizes the profane character of the dance and tells the visitors not to fear the dancer. It runs as follows.

Now you just watch her dance, watch her dance. She is not a dancer like the others; she did not get this dance in her dream. This dance, she is dancing, does not "get" her head, does not "get" her body. It is not like other dances. Tell your people, chief, not to be afraid of this dance. It is not like other dances. This dance is no dream dance. Now you can tell your people to get ready to give her whatever they have. Just throw it close by her. Every little helps, will help her. Tell those people of yours, chief, to get ready to give little things. It does not make any difference what you give her. Give her anything—arrow, basket, hide, anything you have to give away.

The informant said that in bygone days women danced the helikna in the streets of Jamestown and Sonora for money given them by the whites. The informant particularly impressed upon me the fact that the helikna was not a sacred dance, hence was harmless to ordinary people. The helikna does not belong in any series but is frequently danced in the daytime for mere amusement, like the aletu.

### HELKIBŌKSU

The helkibōksu is classed by the Miwok with such dances as the ahana, ulula, aletu, and helikna. It has no drummer, singer, or drum major. The single man dancer sings for himself. He is usually from the village giving the fiesta,



but the chief of the village may ask someone from another village to dance.

The dancer is dressed in ordinary clothes and wears a hair net. His face is entirely blackened with charcoal. His body, arms, and legs are not painted and he wears no feathers. He makes his preparations inside the ceremonial house, near the drum, in the presence of the audience.

When he is ready, he throws a basket down in front of the drum and starts to dance, facing the fire, and dancing first to the right. He jiggles up and down, moving slowly sideways at the same time. His legs are spread pretty far apart, his hands are clenched, but not tightly, and his arms hang straight down at his sides. He looks straight ahead as he dances and alternately sings and exclaims "Hai! Hai!" He dances back and forth in front of the drum as many times as he likes, finally stopping midway in front of it, at the place where he started. He rests only for a moment or two, then dances and sings again.

At the beginning of the dance the chief of the village makes a speech, saying: "Well, give him whatever you have: beads or hides or anything." He speaks in this strain for a couple of minutes only. The chief has no special position in the ceremonial house at a fiesta, so he makes his address from whatever place he happens to be. The people then begin to give things to the dancer, putting them in or beside the basket.

The dancer dances four times, stopping four times in front of the drum. After the fourth stop he dances counterclockwise around the fire, keeping his gaze fixed on it. He dances in the same way as he did in front of the drum. He makes four circuits of the fire, stopping after each round at the drum. After the fourth time he picks up his gifts and gives them to his chief, who then gives the presents to the old people who live in the village. The chief distributes them himself, taking for himself all the bows and arrows and one large basket. If there is a bear hide or deer hide, he takes that too. The dancer does not leave the ceremonial house at the end of the dance, as is done in sacred dances.

When asked for the meaning of *helkiböksu*, the informant said that it meant the "give-away dance," or rather, "dancing for the things." No translation was obtained for the song which accompanies this dance.

#### ULULA

The ulula dance, which is not given at every fiesta, is danced, like the *ahana* and *aletu*, purely for amusement.

It resembles the former in being held outside the ceremonial house. No special costumes are worn and anyone may take part. The dance takes the form of a procession with a singer at each end, and is said to be proposed by the singers. The singers do not have clappers. Sometimes as many as sixty or one hundred people take part, even children being allowed to join, but no one is required to. It is danced shortly after sundown or in the moonlight and before any of the regular sacred dances begin.

The procession dances around the outside of the ceremonial house in one long line, one dancer behind the other. Each person clasps the person in front of him around the waist, placing one hand over the other, providing the person clasped is not too stout. Behind the singer at the head of the line is a woman who clasps him around the waist, and behind her is a man, and so on, men and women alternating to the end of the line, which is brought up by the second singer. The procession is composed of water moiety and land moiety people indiscriminately, of neighbors and visitors.

The procession forms on the left side of the ceremonial house and curves around it, the leading singer being near the entrance to the house. None of the dancers cross in front of the doorway. When the leader gets near the door, he turns out and back, passing outside the original line of dancers, who continue up to the door before turning. The singer, with the line of dancers following, goes around the ceremonial house to the other side of the entrance, where he turns back again in exactly the same fashion. Each dancer turns in the same spot as the leader. They keep this up as long as they wish. They use a short dragging or scuffling step in time to the singing.

The procession starts when the leader begins to sing. While he sings, the rear singer exclaims continuously: "Hunh! Hunh! Hunh!" When the leading singer stops, the song is taken up by the rear singer, while the leader exclaims as above. The singers alternate thus throughout the dance. The same song is repeated for the whole dance.

The chief of the village and his wife take no part in the dance; the chief stands to one side to watch. Sometimes a visiting chief who feels inclined to amusement joins in the merrymaking. Shamans also share the fun. Some of the men, particularly the older ones, take liberties with the women ahead of them. This license is considered proper in the ulula, and no husband has the right to take offense. As the informant expressed it, each husband has the same opportunity.

The song for this dance is untranslatable.

### DANCES AT MOUNTAIN VILLAGES

The mountain villages have fewer dances than the foothill villages at Knights Ferry and Jamestown. Many of the dances are frankly spoken of as having been learned or borrowed from other places.

#### MURPHYS

At Murphys, Calaveras County, a half-caste named Duncan volunteered the information that at a *pota* ceremony, two caged prairie falcons were always present. He said that these have to be captured before the cere-

mony can be performed. Old Walker, an old man of the land moiety at Murphys, is named for the prairie falcon. The name of the Central Miwok village one mile northeast of Murphys is Humata; the village at Six-mile Gulch, three miles east of Angels Camp, is called Kosoimunu (Kroeber, 1925, pl. 37, nos. 39 and 41 respectively).

The following information was recorded in 1917 from the shaman, Doctor George or Chochubi, of the land moiety, whose name refers to the sun (Gifford, 1916, p. 158). He was born at Umemuk, probably near Strawberry, Tuolumne County, at the foot of a huge rock or precipice. He said he had lived forty years at Columbia and forty



years at Murphys. The interpreter was John Jeff, a Northern Miwok of the olichko or olechu moiety, which is the Northern Miwok equivalent of the tunuka or land moiety of the Central Miwok. He was then living at Kosoimunu.

For one year after a death, no dances are held except the yame or mourning ceremony. The night following the washing of the mourners, which terminates the yame, the people dance in the assembly house. The chief asks the girls to dance and they cannot refuse. Ordinarily the singer teaches the girls to dance.

The informant, Doctor George, described his own dance activities as follows. He said that he spent no time in the woods, nor did he dream when he was learning to dance. He was merely taught by an instructor and was not confined in the assembly house while learning. According to him, boys were never seized and confined for initiation, which indicates that the dancers did not constitute a secret society. Doctor George said, however, that the quantity of food he was given was restricted. He danced in the hiweyi and tula dances at a dance house near Murphys. For the tula he wore a flicker headband which ran from the forehead over the top of the head down the back of the neck. On each side of his head he had five feather ornaments, chalila (makki, at Jamestown). A singer at Murphys taught him both the tula and hiweyi dances. The chief at Angels Camp asked him to come down from Murphys to take part in the dances at Angels Camp; there were four tula dancers from Murphys and four from Angels Camp. The hiweyi was also danced on this occasion.

At Murphys, the tula, hiweyi, yahuha, sulesko, luhuyi, aletu, and kamini were danced. The singer who taught Doctor George the tula and hiweyi dances had seen them at Pleasanton, Alameda County, and taught them upon his return to Murphys. About 1897, Pedro Connor, a Northern Miwok, taught the sulesko dance at Murphys. On that occasion no one was sick from seeing a ghost. It was danced for fun. After the sulesko, they danced the kamini, a Northern Miwok (and Southern Maidu) dance, for four nights.

On this occasion they did not dance the luhuyi (another Northern Miwok and Southern Maidu dance), which consists of circling around the fire with a quick step. In the Central Miwok version of luhuyi the dancers do not hold hands. There was no temayasu dance at Murphys or Angels Camp. Doctor George knew of this dance only in the foothill country of Jamestown and Knights Ferry.

Dr. George had never served as drum major, singer, or drummer. He was a dancer only, taking part whenever hiweyi and tula were performed at Murphys. He had never seen the ayetme. He said that the luhuyi and kamini were Southern Maidu dances introduced to the Northern Miwok from Colfax. The kamini, as well as the sulesko, came to the Central Miwok from the Northern Miwok, he said. The aletu, which was danced only once at Murphys, was a Tuolumne dance, in which the dancers had horizontal stripes on the face. The mamasu, a fire dance of the Northern Miwok, was not danced at Murphys.

The term helikna means "outside dancing," which is performed in white men's towns for money.

Doctor George once saw two white clowns (woochi) at a dance-house ceremony at Six-mile Gulch between Angels Camp and Murphys. One of them was old Walker, mentioned above. They had their hair covered with white clay (walangasū) so that it was stiff and stood straight up. They wore pants cut off at the knees and were painted white below the knees, but their torsos were not painted. They did not wear the cocoon rattles (sokossa) on the

ankles as clowns often do. They wore tails of rags instead of feathers, but had necklaces of jay (taiti) and California woodpecker (palatada) heads. Each had a bone whistle (suleppa).

The borrowing of dances in late times is well illustrated by the dances at Murphys. It is said that before the Murphys' singer went to Pleasanton and learned the tula and hiweyi dances, there were no dances at Murphys except the yahuha.

At Angels Camp and Murphys a distinction is made between a "big time" or kote, and a "little time" or uweta. The first applies to dancing, gambling (hand game), and the mourning ceremony or cry; the second is a local ceremony of four days' duration to celebrate the eating of new food—acorns, manzanita berries, and grass seeds. In other words, uweta applies to first fruits observances. Before mush made from the first acorns is eaten, the yahuha is always danced around a basket of mush.

In January, after hunting in December, they dance the hiweyi and tula at Murphys. This is "just for a big time" (kote); nothing will go wrong if they do not dance. In other words, the dance is not mandatory. The singer, Jim, rather than the chief, is the head man in charge of dancing there. Women, even menstruants, attend all dances, but menstruants must sit far back. Small children also come to see the dances. An ordinary person must not touch a dancer in costume. There is no special word for a costumed dancer.

In May they dance at Murphys to celebrate the eating of the first clover. In June they dance just "for having a big time." The chief, as host, arranges the affairs in January, May, and June. In all three months the hiweyi and tula are danced.

The mülopati singing at Murphys is comparable to the mulupu singing at Tuolumne. Mülopati is translated as "Let's sing ourselves," and refers to singing by the audience between dances.

At Six-mile Gulch, where John Jeff (Northern Miwok) was living in 1917, there were formerly a singer, a drummer, four women dancers, and four men dancers. One of the last acted as drum major. The word kalangapu is the generic term for a dance at Six-mile Gulch.

## SOULSBYVILLE AND TUOLUMNE

Mrs. Mallie Cox supplied data on dances at Tuolumne and at Bald Rock near Soulsbyville. She enumerated the following dances: yahuha, ukanu', pusina, pota, lole; helikna, woochi, sulesko, and sule yuse. In all of these women participated. There was no fire dance at either village. She said that the sulesko dance is danced entirely by women and is performed for a person who has been sick a long time, or one who has seen a ghost. She described the sule yuse as a scalp dance for revenge.

The term mulupu is applied to singing between dances in the assembly house.

The chief or chieftainess often selects two men to act as clowns (woochi) at the dances, one to dance, the other to sing in the woochi dance. During the other dances the clowns steal food from the audience but do not talk. Before the ceremony begins, however, they may address the audience, ordering them to clear a space for the dancers.

Mrs. Cox gave the following explanation of the occasion for certain dances. People dance after the acorns have been harvested in the fall (siskano). The yahuha is danced at this time and also when manzanita berries are picked in July, but not with other dances. Ukanu', pusina, lole, and sule yuse are danced any time the chief or chieftainess



wishes. Helikna is danced in summer. There are no special dances for tuyu and other seed harvests.

The chief has no hand in selecting the young men and women dancers; the drum major of the dance does this. A father who wishes his son to become a dancer takes him to the dances so he may see and learn. A woman dancer teaches girls to dance.

According to Mrs. Mallie Cox, it was Coyote who instituted dances. After a death, there is no dancing for as long as two or three years. Mrs. Cox said that kote is a general term for a social or ceremonial gathering. If it is a festive occasion it is called an auni; if it is in memory of the dead, it is a yame, or cry. Mrs. Cox did not know of Kuksuyu as a wood spirit.

### GROVELAND

Mrs. Sophia Thompson (Pilekuye), chieftainess at Big Creek (Pigliku) near Groveland (see p. 262), was the daughter of the chief Nomasu, who was burned to death in his house about 1893. Before his death he had taught her the way to talk when going around to ask people to supply food for a fiesta. Nomasu's sons had died, so he trained his daughter to be chieftainess.

The first fiesta given by Mrs. Thompson was a cry (yame) for her dead father. At his death the old assembly house (hangi), which was of boards and shingles, was destroyed. For this cry a new house of the same type was constructed, which was still standing in 1917 (pl. 16). At the end of the cry for Nomasu the people gambled, playing the hand game (hana).

Five years after the cry for her father Mrs. Thompson gave her second and last fiesta, to which she invited Tuolumne and Mariposa Miwok to play the hand game. There was no dancing. Shortly after this, on January 1, 1910, her husband Tom Thompson died.

All the dances described for Groveland were given in Nomasu's time; none was given after his death. The dying out of the dances at Groveland is an example of the abandonment of dances throughout Miwok territory, in which the encroachment of the whites, and the deaths of the old people, are the principal factors.

Mrs. Thompson said that fiestas were not frequent, occurring perhaps once in two or three years. The first she remembered that her father Nomasu gave was when she was a young girl. It was in late summer and the people had venison, acorns, and so on, to eat. They danced the wahile and aletu. The second fiesta she remembered was a yame or cry given by her father for her dead siblings. This was followed by another cry for more dead siblings. One brother, Pelisu, had been stabbed to death by a white man.

About 1883, Nomasu gave a fiesta in December, at which hand games were played. There was no dancing. After that he gave a fiesta at which the yokele was danced (see below). This was about four years before his death, in other words about 1889. The dance was not for new acorns, but just for a "time," that is, for pleasure.

In the subdialect of Central Miwok spoken at Groveland the word for dance is kalanga, whereas in the Tuolumne tongue it is kalea.

At Groveland the whistler (tututbe) taught dancing to both youths and girls, who were selected by the chief after consultation with their parents. The whistler was appointed by the chief, who gave him his whistle. The pupils were about twenty years old when they began dancing, Mrs. Thompson said. They were not confined to

the dance house during the period of instruction.

The eating of the first food for any season, as for instance the eating of the first acorns of the new crop, is the occasion for a local "little time," or uwetu (from uwe, "to eat"). There may or may not be dancing on this occasion, but if there is, most any dance will do. There is no dance for the new year, which begins in April with the grass coming up. Mrs. Thompson also distinguishes between uwetu or "little time" and kote or "big time" (fiesta) with gambling and dancing.

Mrs. Thompson enumerated eleven dances for Groveland, in all of which women took part. Clowns (woochi) also functioned in Groveland ceremonies. No feather cape (metikila) is used in any Groveland dance.

Aletu.—The aletu was danced at any time. Each dancer had two vertical stripes on each cheek, a black one near the nose, a red one near the ear. In 1923 informant Mike Anderson said that the aletu is not an indigenous Groveland dance, but is derived from the south.

Alina.—The Groveland dance called alina is a purely local affair for which no invitation strings (sutila) are sent out. It is quite different from the alina dance of Jamestown and Knights Ferry. It is performed in the dance house by three women only. The leading woman serves as singer (mulikbe). The second woman is called nutupbe, the third lokapbe. The nutupbe carries a basket tray (hetalu) with hulled half-acorns in it. She raises and lowers the tray so that the loose paperlike covering of the acorn kernels blows off. In spite of this the informant insisted that the alina dance has nothing to do with new acorns and that it may be danced at any time of the year.

Ehehana.—Ehehana is the Groveland version of the pusina dance of Tuolumne. It is not equivalent to the ahana of the Mariposa Southern Miwok or the ahana of the foothill Central Miwok of Jamestown and Knights Ferry.

Helki.—The helki dance is performed by one or more women who dance around the women who are preparing acorn bread. The dancer is paid with a small basketful of acorns. The helki is also sung and danced in the ceremonial house for the purpose of obtaining clothes, baskets, beads, or food. Then, men as well as women dance it.

Lole.—The lole is danced in summer only, not with the yokele, ehehana, or yowehaye.

Mamasu.—This dance is preceded by the wahile dance. Mrs. Thompson once took part in it. It is not a fire dance, as it is among the Northern Miwok.

Sulesko.—Sulesko is danced when someone is sick or when someone dreams about a sulesko (ghost). A person who thus dreams tells the chief, who then arranges the fiesta.

Ulula.—The ulula is danced at any time a fiesta is held.

Wahile.—No description of the wahile dance was obtained, but Mrs. Thompson said it was danced at Tuolumne as well as at Groveland. It is danced at any time of year and there is said to be no special occasion for it.

Yokele.—The yokele is an ancient dance. Mrs. Thompson's father, Nomasu, used to dance it. It is performed in June just for a joyous fiesta (for which the Groveland people used the term kote, not the Tuolumne term auni). Other dances performed at the same time as the yokele are the ehehana and the yowehaye. The chief sets the time for a fiesta. He consults no one, although he has to get people to help in providing food.

The yokele is performed in the dance house by five women dancers, four men dancers accompanied by a whistler (making a total of five men dancers), a drummer, a drum major, and a singer, with three assistant singers. The drummer and singers wear ordinary clothing and no feathers. The drum major is likewise plainly dressed



without paint or feathers, and he has no whistle. The chief singer carries an elderwood clapper.

The whistler, who leads the four other men dancers, has four black and white horizontal stripes on each side of his face, two stripes across his chest, black and white stripes around his legs below the knees, but no paint on his arms. He has a flicker headband and his long hair is tied up on his head with strings of beads, but he does not wear a hair net. Sticking up on each side of his head is an ornament of feathers mounted on a stick (chuwa; chalila of foothill Central Miwok). From a string around his neck there hangs a whistle made of leg bones of the bald eagle. His hair is dampened and chicken hawk (suyu) down is stuck to it. He is naked except for his breechblout.

The four men dancers who follow the whistler are painted somewhat differently, having two vertical stripes, black and white, on each cheek, the black being near the nose. There is no paint on their backs or limbs. Each wears two chuwa feather ornaments in the hair which is bound with strings of beads, like the whistler's. They have no flicker headbands.

Each woman has a horizontal black stripe on each cheek, with white spots below. Her hair hangs loose except for a bead band about the head. Two chuwa feather ornaments stick up, one on each side of her head, held in place by the bead band.

The dancers dress in the woods; the dressing-place is called wole. The whistler brings the feather ornaments from the dance house, where he keeps them in a globose twined basket (hupulu), which lies on its side so that the ornaments may be put in from the end.

When everyone is ready, the singer, singing the dance song, leads the dancers from the dressing-place to the dance house. They walk in the following order: singer, drummer, drum major, whistler, men dancers, women dancers, and enter the dance house in the same order.

The singer, drummer, and drum major walk to their places. They begin the music and the dancers come in dancing, led by the whistler. The drum major exclaims "Hoh-hoh, hoh-hoh, hoh-hoh!" and ends with "Hi-ya!"

The whistler dances stooped, arms dangling, and buttocks stuck out. He raises and lowers himself, coming down hard on his heels. He dances sidewise facing the fire, looking from side to side and whistling continually. The four dancers follow him, dancing the same way until they reach the drum. The direction is counterclockwise.

The women dancers shuffle sidewise to the middle of the right side of the dance house, while the men continue around to the left of the drum. Each woman holds a large handkerchief, called a wiza, in her hands (a substitute for the goosedown boa of the foothill Miwok). She holds her elbows close against her sides, the elbows bent so that the forearms are horizontal. The women raise and lower their hands with the handkerchief alternately. In the body of the dance they proceed clockwise toward the door, standing erect, and then back to their places. The men dance to the right from the drum, toward the door, then back to the left of the drum. They all dance thus four times, to complete the main part of the dance. After the dancing is over, the singers and dancers sit down for the mulupu singing.

This account of the yokele by Mrs. Thompson describes the last one she saw at Groveland, in 1889. She named some of the participants. The whistler was Sopachu, a man of the land moiety, whose name means "bear taking a firm grip on one." The singer was Laapisa, son of the women Laapisak (Gifford, 1916, p. 153). The chief Nomasu had appointed both the whistler and the singer. The drum major was Chochka (ibid., p. 157), a water moiety man. Three of the men dancers were Newulo (water moiety), Toktokolu (land moiety), and Toloyu.

Yowehaye.—This dance is the Groveland version of the Tuolumne ukanu'.



## RITUAL FOR THE DEAD

### FUNERAL CEREMONIES

Usually in each village, where there is a chief and a ceremonial assembly house, there is a funeral fire tender (*chamusa wugube*) who attends to the cremation of the dead. After a death he takes charge of the body, and his first business is to watch it, whether it lies in a dwelling or in the ceremonial house.

Word of a death is spread as rapidly as possible by the chief's messengers, so that people from neighboring villages may attend the funeral. The wailing for the deceased frequently begins even before the death; the mourners walk or dance counterclockwise around the body as they wail. Each mourner wears mugwort leaves (*Artemisia vulgaris*) in his nostrils, since the pungent odor of the leaves is supposed to keep the nasal passages clear. The funeral fire tender takes part in the dance like anyone else; in fact, he begins the wailing. After the mourners have kept it up for a considerable time, he suggests to the speaker (*yeyichbe*) that they take a rest. The speaker then addresses the mourners, shouting so as to be heard above the crying. During this speech the funeral fire tender leads the mourners by the arm—one, or perhaps two, at a time—to one side of the house to sit down.

The dancing and wailing continue until the body is disposed of. Often the body is kept in the ceremonial house for three or four days before it is cremated. Sometimes, as one informant expressed it, "one day is called four days" by the chief in charge, and the body is disposed of without delay, a practice called *sikayabu*, which is also the name of the cremation place. If this is done, a feast and merrymaking may follow the burial or cremation. In fact, the relatives of the deceased often display their public spirit by saying, "Don't mind my boy. Go ahead and dance."

The wailing for the dead in the ceremonial house is sometimes inaugurated by a brief address by the chief or his speaker, somewhat as follows:

"Your friend is dead. Cry. You are now going to cry. All cry together, women and men. If you get tired, say so; then we will go and burn him."

Sometimes the speech is preceded by remarks about the deceased by various good speakers.

#### HOHI

The kind of mourning described above marks the death of an ordinary person or of people in certain positions, namely, a speaker (*yeyichbe*), wizard (*tuyuku*), or sucking doctor (*koyabi*). For people of note—a chief, a dancer, a clown, a singer, a drummer, or certain kinds of shamans—the *hohi* dance is performed, taking the place of the usual wailing and dancing. It is danced either in the dwelling of the deceased or in the ceremonial house. The crowd of mourners dances, counterclockwise, around the body, as at an ordinary funeral.

Four singers are chosen for the dance by the chief in charge of the funeral, and the leader of the singers in turn chooses the dancers (*hohibek*)—six men and four or six women. At the opening of the dance only the women dancers and the mourners are inside the house; the men dancers

and the singers are outside. The singers sing first outside; the song cannot be translated. When the speaker hears them, he orders the mourners in the house to cease wailing and dancing. After the song, the singers, followed by the men dancers, enter, and take their positions, all four in a row, on one side of the ceremonial house; in a dwelling house they stand near a wall. The six men dancers stand behind them, also in a row.

The dancers are dressed in ordinary clothes. Each woman dancer carries an article belonging to the deceased. She holds it in front of her with both hands, just above the level of her head as she dances, alternately raising and lowering each arm slightly. When the words and rhythm of the song are changed, the women swing the objects they carry from side to side in front of them for a moment. If the ceremony takes place in the dwelling house, the women dancers dance to the right around the body. If it is in a ceremonial house, however, the body is not placed in the center, and the women dance around the fire instead, in the same counterclockwise direction. The body may be placed anywhere except in the center of the ceremonial house; usually it is at one side or near the drum.

The dancers and singers, holding their arms up at a forty-five degree angle, wave their arms slightly as they turn their bodies gently from side to side without lifting their feet from the ground. They bend their knees a little as they raise and lower their heels, always keeping the toes on the ground and coming down hard with their heels. When they halt, they drop their arms at their sides. The men dance in place behind the singers.

The *hohi*, like most Miwok dances, is divided by ceremonial rests into four movements or dance figures, although sometimes there are more. During these rest intervals the mourners give vent to their grief, wailing and dancing or stamping the feet as at an ordinary funeral, and circling to the right around the body. The singers and dancers join in this. This general mourning, like the dance itself, is broken by ceremonial rests, so that it also follows the pattern of four ceremonial parts. When the *hohi* dance begins again, after the general mourning, the audience sits down. This alternation of dance and wailing may be kept up all night. The mourning stops only at the discretion of the speaker, who acts for the chief in charge. The wailing and dancing of the mourners continues day and night until the disposal of the body.

There are certain variations of the *hohi*, according to the dead man's position in life. For example, if the deceased was a Rattlesnake shaman, there are four singers but no dancers. A shaman (*sokosbe*, "rattler") takes the place of the dancers and cries and dances around the body, shaking a short (5-inch) single-cocoon rattle (*sokossa*). He is followed by all the mourners who wish to wail and dance, as he dances to the right around the body in a stooping posture, turning from side to side. His performance is punctuated by the customary four stops.

In the *hohi* for a Coyote shaman two men dance and two sing. The two dancers carry some of the dead man's property, holding it high in front of them, as the women dancers do in the typical *hohi*. These dancers are followed by the wailing mourners.

In the *hohi* for a Bear shaman (*uzume*) there are also



two singers and two dancers. The latter carry a bear skin stretched between them with the hair up, one man holding the hind legs, the other the front legs. The men face each other, so that one is dancing backwards. They dance around the body to the right, swinging the bear skin from side to side. They take the four ceremonial rests. Later they repeat the performance at the funeral pyre during the burning of the body and property of the deceased. Here, too, the ceremonial stops are made. As they stop for the fourth time they sling the bear hide on to the fire. After that everyone dances, wailing, around the flaming pyre.

The last hohi danced at Chakachino village, about 1894, was for a half-breed girl named Hateya, nearly nineteen years old. She had taken the part of osabe in the kuksuyu dance and because of her participation, her funeral was out of the ordinary. A description of the funeral provides a detailed account of the hohi funeral ceremony for a dancer. Hateya had merely substituted for the man who, dressed as a woman, usually took the part of osabe in the kuksuyu dance. At Hateya's burial the costumes of all three of the regular participants in the kuksuyu dance were buried with her, including the costumes of kuksuyu himself, mochilo, and the regular osabe dancer.<sup>17</sup>

Hateya's body lay in a modern coffin in her mother's house. The kuksuyu dancer, whose name was Yeleyu, followed by the regular osabe dancer, a man called Wininu, circled the coffin counterclockwise, wailing, and many people who were wailing for the dead girl followed them. The osabe had a single-bone whistle, which he blew frequently. The mochilo dancer, Kutatcha, danced near the door and not with the procession of dancers; he carried no whistle. Each time the kuksuyu dancer rested, all the people stopped too. At each rest interval, he took off his costume and laid it lengthwise on top of the coffin, wailing anew as he did so. When ready to dance again, he donned his costume again. The mochilo and the osabe wore flicker headbands, but not costumes; their costumes were laid on top of the coffin during the dance indoors. When the body was removed to the burial place, these costumes of the mochilo and osabe were carried out on top of the coffin.

As the coffin was carried along, mochilo danced in front of it while osabe brought up the rear. Kuksuyu, who had kept his costume on, but rolled up on his head, danced all around the coffin. After it had been laid over the grave, before being lowered into the ground, he danced four times around it to the right, starting and stopping at its head each time, while all the people cried. After the fourth circuit the kuksuyu doffed his costume and laid it upon the coffin. The speaker, Hateya, made a speech saying that it would be the last time that they would see the girl and that they would never again see the kuksuyu dance at Chakachino. The kuksuyu dance has not been performed there since.

## CREMATION

The cremation of the body follows the mourning for the deceased and usually takes place in the morning, the pyre (leki), usually about five feet high, being lighted as a rule between nine and eleven o'clock. The day before, the

<sup>17</sup> In earlier times, before cremation was abandoned, the paraphernalia of dancers was not buried or burned. Instead, it was weighted down with rocks and sunk in a river or stream.

courier (liwape) tells four men to gather wood for the pyre. The dead person is dressed in his ordinary clothes and the body lies on a hide during the mourning in the house. Afterwards the four men (sunupbek) who got the wood carry it to the burning-place (sikayabu) on a litter (tak'u) made of four parallel sticks with a cross bar near each end. It is laid on a hide on the ground near the funeral pyre and is later placed on the pyre, which is ignited by the funeral fire tender. When the body has been mostly consumed by the flames, the litter is thrown on the fire.

The funeral fire tender and the four men who act as carriers have to remain until the body is completely consumed. The fire tender has a long pole with which he turns the body as it burns. He has also to tend the fire, putting on the wood which the carriers bring. A burning started at nine o'clock in the morning usually lasts until two or three in the afternoon.

The mourners dance around the body while it lies on the ground, and sometimes around the burning pyre. They always make the ceremonial four stops, and if a hohi has been danced indoors for the person, the dance is repeated at the burning-place. The speaker (yeyichbe) also orates about the dead person.

An ordinary man's property, that is, the property of a person for whom no hohi is danced, is burned, not at the time of the cremation, but four days later at either sunrise or sunset, when it is destroyed by the speaker or the courier. There is no special burning-place for this. At the cremation, however, the man's relatives and friends may throw some of their own property into the flames. As a rule, only people from the village attend the burning of the dead man's property. At this time, too, the house of the deceased is burned, the fireplace being carefully filled with dirt and leveled off first. If the deceased is a chief, the ceremonial house is burned also.

The house of a person for whom the hohi has been danced is destroyed in the same way four days after his cremation. The other property, however, is burned on the funeral pyre. Here there seems to be some variation in the procedure. The property of a shaman is placed by the speaker on the funeral pyre at the end of the fourth period of singing at the burning-place, after the body has been committed to the flames. Sometimes the speaker receives the property from the hohi dancers as they pass by him in the dance at the burning-place. He may make a pile of it and throw it on the fire bit by bit. Sometimes he waits and places it on the fire after the mourners have left. Only the dead man's property is thus thrown on the fire by the speaker. This burning of property at a funeral is called busa. The animals belonging to the deceased are killed by his male relatives before his body is put on the pyre.

Just as soon as the speaker finishes burning the property, and before the body is entirely consumed, he and several assistants (at the most five or six) proceed to wash the mourners. The fact that the speaker has handled the dead person's property does not keep him from washing the mourners; for he has not touched the corpse. Later the people who have been washed pay the speaker. He shows the property thus collected to the chief, and it is then divided among the washers and the wood and water carriers. The chief receives nothing.

The speaker, the funeral fire tender, and the four carriers or pallbearers are washed last. Each one actually gets into the large water basket and is washed and rubbed all over with mugwort. A speaker from another village who has thus far not taken part in the ceremonies washes these participants. It is believed that if the people who have been in closest contact with the dead are not washed they will become ill.



At the burning-place a round hole (called *luwata*) is dug about three feet in depth and a foot and a half in diameter. On the morning after the cremation, two of the dead man's relatives, or, if he has none, the speaker, scrape the ashes into this hole. On the fourth day after the cremation, the same persons (always two) take ashes from the fire in the ceremonial house and cover the bones in the hole. Stems of mugwort are then laid over the ashes, and the pit is covered with bark until the next cremation, when it is opened again. The hole may thus be used many times before it is full, when another is dug close beside it.

If a brother or sister or other near relative lives at a distance and is unable to attend the funeral, the fire is allowed to go out after the limbs, head, and abdomen are consumed. The torso containing the heart is saved; this is called *kula*. The relatives of the deceased tie up the *kula* in two tanned deer hides and then place it in a burden basket. One relative, either a man or a woman, carries the basket to the village of the distant relative. Many people may accompany the *kula*, but only one person carries it. However, the usual ceremonies are carried out at the village where the person died, as described above, even though part of the corpse may be taken elsewhere.

When the *kula* arrives at the distant village, ceremonies are performed there exactly as though the person had died at that village. The chief of the place has his speaker supervise everything, just as is done in the home village of the deceased. If the *hohi* dance has been performed there for the dead, it is now repeated. The *kula* is sometimes kept for two days while the mourning goes on. The courier of the village sends carriers for wood just exactly as is done at the home village of the deceased. The funeral pyre for the *kula*, however, is not made quite so high as for the entire body; it may be only about four feet high.

One of the first things done when the *kula* arrives at its destination is to wrap it in dry tule, making a long roughly human-shaped bundle. This effigy is meant to represent the deceased and is called *miwüye* (cf. *miwük*, "person"). It is treated exactly like the original corpse, being carried on a litter to the burning-place. The whole ceremony is conducted as though a whole body were being cremated.

The preceding account of the Miwok disposal of the dead is derived from the Jamestown informant, Tom Williams. Higher in the mountains, in the vicinity of Tuolumne and Groveland (Pigliku or Big Creek), the customs seem to vary a bit, although they are essentially the same. The following comments are from Tuolumne and Big Creek informants. According to them the body is not allowed to be consumed entirely by the flames. The heart is saved and placed with the bones in a large basket. The cremation begins in the morning; the calcined bones are collected in the evening. Offerings of

beads, shells, and baskets are placed with the heart and cremated remains in a large basket which is kept in the ceremonial house for one night while the wailing continues. In the morning the basket is buried. The houses and property of the deceased are destroyed by fire. His domestic animals are killed. The meat of the animals, except dogs, is cooked and eaten. One informant said that the animals are killed so that they may accompany their master. This informant's father had three dogs which always accompanied him and they were killed at his funeral.

Mourning relatives may put pitch upon their faces and wear it until the mourning ceremony (*yame*) a year later. Sometimes it is renewed at that time for another year or two. One Big Creek informant said that the litter for the dead was not used in old times but that the dead were carried from the ceremonial house in a "blanket," by which he probably meant hides. Not infrequently female relatives try to immolate themselves upon the burning pyre. They are prevented from doing so by the other mourners, who restrain them and lead them wailing around the pyre.

At the time the basket of remains is buried, the chief in charge makes the following speech after the basket has been set in the hole:

This is the last of the body, whatever may be. Last forever. He is no more. Whoever wants to mourn one year, two years, may. He is gone, gone forever. Whence has he gone? In the heaven. That is what we say. This is what the ancients said. We are the last ones. That is what the ancients said: "We are all going to heaven." We will all follow, everyone after a while. Good-bye forever.

Because of American influence, cremation is no longer practised. Burials are now carried out with similar ceremonies. All go to the burying place. Four or five men are appointed to dig the grave, and the body is carried from the house by four or six men. People are buried in their best clothes, and money is put over the eyes and in the mouth. There is a general wailing at the grave, ordered by the chief in charge. "You had better come and cry; you will see him no more," the chief will say. Following the funeral, the people are washed, water moiety people washing land moiety people and vice versa.

The mourners place ashes on the grave before dawn on the morning after a cremation or burial. This custom is called *sikya*. In May, 1923, while I was doing ethnographic work at Tuolumne, a woman died and this was done.

In the old days after a cremation, and nowadays after a burial, the ceremony of *epetu* is performed. Each of the chief mourners lies face down on the grave and his back is pressed from head to foot by people of the opposite moiety. The purpose of *epetu* is to ward off illness from the mourners.

## MEMORIAL CEREMONIES

### YALKA

A widow or widower (the term for either is *wigume*) is confined for a period of two months after the death of the spouse, eating only vegetable food and being allowed out of the house only at night. Immediately after the death, the *wigume* is confined in a neighboring house and does not attend the funeral. A widow is locked up by her

brother-in-law, a widower by his sister-in-law and mother-in-law. This confinement is called *oknunup*.

A widow is looked after by an old woman of her dead husband's family, in whose house she is confined. Her husband's sister singes her hair with a burning stick and puts her skirt around her neck over her shoulders, leaving her body exposed below. She wears her hair short until she dies or marries again. A widower is treated



similarly, his caretaker being an old man of his dead wife's family. His hair is singed and his garments placed around his neck by his wife's brother. In the case of both the widow and widower the hair is singed by a person of the moiety of the deceased. It is a question whether blood relationship or moiety membership is the determining factor. The care of the bereaved spouse, however, is the duty of some old member of the dead person's family, not the brother-in-law or sister-in-law.

The chief's hunters (hayapong lemingbek) keep track of the confinement of the wigume and, as the time for release approaches, they suggest to the chief that the prisoner be freed. The chief makes a number of message strings, probably four, with ten knots in each, each knot standing for a day. These are invitations to the ceremony of the wigume's release. The chief's messengers take them to neighboring villages. As each day passes, a knot is untied by the recipients until the time comes for departure. In the meantime the chief's hunters kill deer to feed the visitors at the ceremony.

The release ceremony, which in some ways resembles the "cry" (yame), is called yalka and takes place in the ceremonial house on two successive nights. There are no events during the day, and no property is destroyed.

In all the ceremonial acts of the yalka, the wigume is attended by the sister or brother of the dead spouse—her sister-in-law attending a widow, his brother-in-law a widower. A mother-in-law may take the place of the sister-in-law or a father-in-law may substitute for the brother-in-law. On the first night of the ceremony the attending relative brings the wigume from the house where he has been confined and holds him during the wailing inside the ceremonial house. The wigume wears his old garment about his neck (a widow puts on a new skirt to cover her nakedness). The wailing is repeated three times, making the ritual four. Then the wigume is taken back to the place of confinement for a while and brought back again, when there are four more periods of wailing. After that the wigume is locked up again. The procedure is the same for either widow or widower.

The performance is repeated on the second night, but after it the wigume is taken by the attending relative to the latter's house and washed. The rest of the mourners are washed outside the ceremonial house as is done at the funeral and at the cry (yame).

A widow or widower who marries again is called elume. If he turns his back on his new spouse during the first night, it is believed the latter will die very soon. If the spouse, however, is also a wigume, it does not matter if one turns his back on the other. The idea is that the evil influence of one will counteract that of the other.

A Tuolumne informant said that a widower is sweated by his sister-in-law in a small dwelling or sweathouse. After that, he is confined for two months, going out only at night, neither speaking to nor looking at a woman. At the end of the period the yalka is held as described above, and the widower is washed. After that he may proceed with his ordinary occupation. A month or two after the yalka he may marry his deceased wife's sister.

## YAME

The yame, or cry, as the mourning ceremony is called, occurs about one year after a death, the exact time being fixed by the chief. It may last for only one night, but it usually goes on for four nights, the limit being six. During the day the people play gambling games (especially

hand games), eat, and sleep. The cry is sometimes followed by dances that lack the mourning element. Often, but not always, property is destroyed during a cry. It is not the deceased's property, but is brought by relatives or is donated by the chief or by friends, both friends at home and from a distance. The cry is held in the ceremonial house, but the property is burned and the mourners are washed elsewhere.

A cry is not always held at the native village of the deceased. The half-breed girl, Hateya, died at her own village, Chakachino (near Jamestown), but cries were held for her at Newichu (Murphys) and Hunga (Bald Rock), not at Chakachino. Although the cry commemorates the death of some one person, the participants think about their own dead relatives during the ceremony. Occasionally, when two or more people die about the same time, a cry is held for them jointly. A cry is also held to dedicate a new ceremonial house, provided the ceremonial house is the first one built after the death of the chief of the village. This cry, however, may take place several years after the chief's death.

If the cry is for a near relative of a chief, he himself cannot supervise it; some other chief does this. If, however, someone who is not his relative dies in his village, a chief may supervise the cry. When a chief makes up his mind to have a cry at his own village, he or his speaker (yeyichbe) goes around to the houses of his people and tells them of his intentions. After that the speaker climbs to the top of the ceremonial house and shouts to the people about the plans, telling them to enter the ceremonial house immediately. When the people are assembled in the ceremonial house, the speaker talks to them further about the proposed cry.

When Tom Williams, chief at Chakachino, had such a cry for his wife's brother, three invitation strings were made with eight knots each. (One informant said that the strings were of buckskin.) Tom sent these out by messengers. He sent his speaker with one knotted string to Knights Ferry. The chief, George Anderson (Sitni), of Ward's Ferry took a second string to Bald Rock. There it was received by the chief Yanapayak, who relayed it with a new one to the chief at Big Creek near Groveland. Yanapayak sent his own speaker with the new knotted string which he made. The third string Tom Williams sent by his courier to Kotoplane, north of Table Mountain. From Table Mountain the message was relayed by a new string to Newichu (Murphys). Sometimes the knotted strings for a cry are sent out twenty or twenty-five days in advance. An assemblage of three or four hundred people for a cry is not unusual.

The chief selects ten men to bring wood for the fire, which is kept burning in the ceremonial house during the cry. Four small pines are burned around and felled and are set up in the middle of the house to form the corners of a small pyramid. They are then covered with brush. The fire is lighted in the daytime before the first night's cry by a man selected for this purpose, possibly the funeral fire tender. (If this official dies, his brother takes his place.)

The visitors all arrive on the afternoon before the cry is to begin. Children are brought but usually do not take part. The visitors are first served with food just before sundown, in the same way as at the kuksuyu ceremony (pp. 269-270). This first meal is called henumnup. The cry begins in the evening after the people have assembled in the ceremonial house. The speaker or the chief of the host village speaks first. He mentions the person for whom the cry is being held, makes a few remarks about him, and tells the people to think about their own relatives when they cry.



At the end of this speech he bids them wail. The speech often ends with the words, "Achitet. Okasuti" ("Get up. Cry"). Then the chief begins to walk around to the right.

A speech delivered in Miwok on the occasion of a cry was recorded on the phonograph by Tom Williams, my Jamestown informant. A translation follows.

Get in. Get in. This is the last time. Men, women, all together. All go in together to sing about our dead people. All of those things which the chief said, which all of the old chiefs said. What the chiefs said in early days we follow, all that they said. All of those chiefs in the early days we follow now. This was said a long time before they died, before they died. Now, now, get in. Come in a little while. Sing about our fathers and our mothers since they are dead. The chief said this in early days when he was worrying over his people, when he was worrying over his people, so that everybody might have a good time. The chief used to talk a long while between the crowds, when he called his people inside the ceremonial house so that they might have a good time afterwards. All of those things which the chief of early days used to say are those which we now follow. Chiefs, two or three chiefs, after they get together and when they preach, chiefs after they get together and when they speak, when they speak, used to make the people cry. The chief a long time ago used to make the people cry. Nowadays they do not cry. The young people do not heed what the chief says to them nowadays. A half a night the chief talked in early days when he gathered the people together. In early days the chief would say: "After we have had this cry, we can take a rest, stop crying. After this cry when night comes and day comes, we will have a fiesta. People are worrying over their fathers and mothers and brothers, so that they can have a big cry, so that they can have a big cry when the day is come, when the day is come. They cry night and day. Now you can have a cry for half a night," the chief said in early days. "Have a cry for half a night, half a night," is what the chief used to say in early days. The chief used to say all of that when he gave a cry. The chief knew how to cry. Nowadays the chief does not cry like the chiefs in early days. The chief is ashamed nowadays. The chief is ashamed nowadays to cry, to cry.

All of you people get ready. Get ready. We will have a big cry. We will have a big cry. All of you men, all of you men, come in. We are going to have a cry. All of you women, I guess you have the things ready. Come in. We will get together and sing about our fathers and our mothers. They are gone. No one ever helped us after our fathers, our mothers, and our brothers were gone. We shall never see them again. All get together and come in. Come in. Do not be ashamed to come in. Do not be ashamed to cry. Do not be ashamed to cry. No one will laugh at you. No one will talk about you. All of you come in. All of the people have gone under the ground, all of the chiefs whom we follow. All of the people and the chiefs, those who understand how to cry, are gone. The chiefs are gone, the ones who always talked at a cry. We do not see them any more. Now the chief is ashamed to say anything. Come in, all of you men, come in. Do not be ashamed. Come in. Get ready. We will have a cry. We will have a cry so that we can go out and have a good time afterwards. Go out and work for us. Do not say, "No." Do not say, "I am ashamed." "We will all get together," the chief used to say in those early days.

Now the chief is ashamed to say anything and his people are ashamed to cry. After he got to the top of the ceremonial house, after he got to the middle of the ceremonial house, he used to say those things in early days. Three or four chiefs, when they spoke, went to the middle of the ceremonial house and they used to make the people cry. Nowadays they are ashamed to make. They do not heed what the chief says. Get ready. Get ready. When the chief said that in early days, the people used to get together.

Ready. Ready. We are going to start. Do not become ashamed. Everybody get up. Everybody get up. Ready, get up. Do not be ashamed. Do not be ashamed. Our fathers are gone, our mothers are gone. Do not become ashamed. Everybody get up together. No one will laugh at you. No one will watch you. Our fathers have died. Our mothers have died. They are all gone. We will never see them again. We will never see them again. All get together. We will cry. Do not be ashamed. So you can have a good time, so you can have a good time. So you can go out, so you can go out, and do whatever you please. Have a good time by yourself. That is what the chief used to say in the early days, when he talked to his people. They used to heed what he said. Now they do not heed what the chief says. That was what the chief said when he told his people: "Get ready. Now get ready. We will cry. We will cry. Get ready. We will cry. We will think about our fathers and our mothers. We will miss our brothers." Well, we will cry. We will follow the customs of our ancestors in the early days. Now they are gone under the ground, our ancestors, whom we are following. That is what the chief said in early days, when he told the people, "We are following the customs of our ancestors, doing what they used to do a long time ago." He said this when he got up on top of the ceremonial house. Now he is gone. He is gone. We shall never see him again. After he reached the middle of the ceremonial house he used to speak. His people used to heed him. New chiefs now do the same as the ancient chiefs used to do, chiefs used to do. He said then, when he told his people to cry, "Now we will get up, get up. We will cry. Our chief is gone, left us behind. All get up, men, women. Altogether, get up and cry. Cry because our chief is gone. We will never see him again. He is gone, gone. In the morning be ready, for they are going to wash us. Do not become ashamed. Do not run away when they come to get you. Get ready. Have your baskets and arrows ready in the morning. That is what the chief said, what the chief said in early days.

When the cry starts, the wailing is kept up for nearly an hour before a rest is ordered. Each person, however, rests for about a minute out of every two or three, usually standing still. The people circle around the fire to the right, stamping and wailing. Some leaves of mugwort may be inserted in the nostrils to keep the nasal passages clear, but the practice is not so obvious as at a funeral. Some of the people dance fast, others slowly, while still others just walk around. There is no singing. The cry starts early in the evening and usually ends about the middle of the night, when the participants sleep. From two to four ceremonial rests of about one half-hour each usually break the cry, the speaker in charge calling a halt by shouting, "Toakach" ("Sit down"). When the cry comes to an end, the chief of the village goes around and talks to the various visiting chiefs. Many of the visitors sleep in the ceremonial house, others in the dwelling houses with the people of the host village. Some people sleep while the cry is in



progress, taking turns with others at crying.

On the following day the guests are given more food. During the day they visit and talk with one another, and sometimes games are played. The speaker of the host village makes speeches to the various visiting chiefs.

In summer the cry begins each evening about seven or eight and is kept up until twelve or one. On the second night there are usually five or six rests, instead of from two to four. At the end of the cry on the second night the speaker makes a speech about sleeping. The chief of the host village does not visit the chiefs of the other villages again as he did the first night. The next day is a repetition of the previous one, and the third night of the cry is like the second night. The fourth day repeats the occurrences of the two previous days. On the fourth night the people cry as before except that the speaker makes an address at the end of the cry, saying that it is over and that in the morning the people will be washed: "Hoyeno upusim" ("To-morrow we wash").

Each succeeding evening the speaker makes a speech as he did on the second evening, telling the people to rest and sleep for the rest of the night. If the cry is being given for the relative of a chief who lives at a distance, that chief on the last night tells his own speaker to express to the speaker of the host village his gratitude, but to say that he does not want to tire the people and, for that reason, the host speaker had better call a halt. The host speaker, first conferring with his own chief, incorporates the visiting chief's message in his speech which ends the cry. One informant gave the following as the order to end the cry: "Nochut okasiti. Hoyeno awinetokong" ("No more cry. To-morrow we dance [or play]"), a reference to the festivities that sometimes follow the washing of the mourners.

A sample of a brief speech was given by one informant.

We are through crying. To-morrow we are going to wash. The people will wash us. When they are through you can pay them whatever you have, a dollar or fifty cents.

At the cry given at Chakachino for the father-in-law of my informant, Tom Williams, no property was burned. A cry at which property is destroyed is given only by a chief who is related to the deceased or in whose village the deceased lived. This chief invites a chief of some other village to come to the cry for the special purpose of destroying the property. He sends this invitation by his speaker, the verbal message being accompanied by the usual knotted string. The speaker tells the distant chief that his own chief wants him to come and burn the property. The property is burned on either the third or fourth night immediately following sundown. The chief who burns the property on such an occasion has charge of the washing of the mourners also. The actual burning is not supervised by the distant chief directly, but by his speaker. It takes place outside, but quite close to, the ceremonial house. The property is provided by the villagers where the cry takes place and by the relatives and friends of the deceased, both those at home and those from a distance. Each person offers whatever he cares to. The visitors from other villages, carrying presents, dance around the fire to the right, crying and wailing. The people of the village where the cry is given stand to one side, wailing and dancing; they do not go around the fire, but dance where they stand. They and the relatives of the deceased give property to be destroyed to the chief of the host village, who turns it over to the chief from a distance, who is in charge of the burning. Four stops or

ceremonial rests are made in the dancing about the fire. After the fourth stop the speaker, who is managing the affair, stops dancing and stands still. He throws the property he is carrying on the fire. As the visitors pass, dancing and crying, he takes from them the articles they carry and casts them into the fire. He lets each piece burn out pretty well before he puts on the next. This is continued until all the presents are burned, while the host people cry and dance in place. After the burning is over, everyone goes into the ceremonial house to continue the cry. Sometimes the valuables are burned on the morning of the fifth day, just before the washing of the people; in fact, the washing sometimes starts before the burning is finished.

Whether or not any property is destroyed, the washing of the mourners begins before sunrise. Eight or ten of the visitors, both men and women, heat water by means of hot stones in three or four large baskets, which are about three feet high, and put mugwort in the water. These visitors, called mulukbek ("washers"), are appointed by the chief in charge, one who has had no relatives die lately. The speaker and messenger of the chief in charge pick up the chief of the host village and carry him to the washing place. Sometimes his face is washed by one man while he is still held on the back of the other. After he is washed he is put down, and the visiting speaker, who has managed the burning, escorts him to his house. Next the speaker and messenger of the host village are washed. Other people are not carried like the chief to the washing place, nor are they conducted home afterwards. This is an honor paid only to the village chief, the host.

The washers hunt up the residents and visitors wherever they are and escort them to the baskets of water, where they are washed and their faces are rubbed with a handful of mugwort. Sometimes, too, the water is dipped from the large basket and poured over the person. Each person sucks a piece of aromatic herb called chute, which he then spits back into the large basket. Sometimes this herb is rubbed on the head also, the purpose being to prevent dreams about the deceased. At Big Creek, especially, washers of one moiety wash people of the opposite moiety. Elsewhere the reciprocal relations of the moieties are not so strictly observed.

After everyone is washed, the resident speaker makes a speech from the top of the ceremonial house, telling the people to remember who washed them and to pay whatever they can afford. The washers then go inside the ceremonial house and sit down at one side. The people who have been washed enter and place in front of their respective washers whatever presents they wish to make, usually giving bows, arrows, beads, or baskets. Nowadays twenty-five or fifty cents is usually paid each washer. After all are paid, the washers give the presents to the supervising chief, who has appointed them. This chief has beside him his own speaker, who has supervised the washing, and who now divides the presents among the washers and water carriers (welupek). Any exceptionally fine bows and arrows or large baskets he puts to one side for his chief.

At the cry at Chakachino for Tom Williams' brother-in-law, the Big Creek chief had charge of the washing of the people. If the cry had not been for one of Tom's relatives, he himself would have had charge of the washing through his own speaker. The Big Creek chief simply took the task upon himself, since it was incumbent upon one of the visiting chiefs to do so. At this cry no property was destroyed. If the washing had been carried out under the direction of Tom and his speaker, the speaker would have washed the visiting chiefs first. At this cry the Bald Rock chief, Yanapayak, washed the Big Creek chief after everyone else had been washed.



On the night following the washing of the mourners a feast called kotumahi is held in the ceremonial house. If the relatives of the deceased wish to continue mourning after the cry, they are at perfect liberty to do so, in

which case they are not washed until the next cry. If a person is hurt at a cry, the people wail for him and dance around him in the ceremonial house. A shaman also helps to cure or heal him.



## CONCLUSION

In reading over my discussion of "Miwok Cults," published in 1926, I see no reason to modify its interpretations, which were based on a study of the data presented here in detail. It may therefore serve as conclusion for the present paper. In 1926 I stressed two probable sources of origin: a southern origin for a bird cult, a northern or western origin for a god-impersonating cult. An attempt was made to classify the god-impersonating dances on a chronological basis.

Additional evidence of the late appearance of some dances and the antiquity of others is given by the statements of informants concerning certain villages at which the early dances were supplemented by new ones from the foothills or from the valley and delta regions. Thus in 1923 the informant Louis, of Knights Ferry, ascribed a traditional western origin (probably Plains Miwok, Yokuts, and Costanoan) to certain Central Miwok dances, all of which had been acquired before his birth; he named *kuksuyu*, *uzumati*, *temayasu*, *tula*, *mochilasi*, *mamasu*, *uchupela*, *lileusi*, *akantoto*, and *woochi*. Louis said that these dances were performed in earlier times at Lukusu, a Miwok village downstream from Knights Ferry, whose inhabitants moved, under American pressure, to Knights Ferry.

The chronological sequence of dances referred to in my earlier paper on "Miwok Cults" (1926, pp. 393, 398, 399) is indicated by the limited number of dances held, before the introduction of the *kuksuyu* series of dances, at certain villages which were *nena*, or origin places. Some examples follow.

At Hangwite (Kroeber, 1925, pl. 37, no. 55) only *kalea* was danced in pre-American times. At Pangasemanu (Kroeber, 1925, pl. 37, no. 78) only *kalea* and *aletu* were danced. At Pota (Kroeber, 1925, pl. 37, no. 69) they had only the *pota* before Americans came; the *kuksuyu* was never danced there. At Selumeti only *aletu* was danced; it was performed outdoors, not in the assembly house there. At Sukanola (Kroeber, 1925, pl. 37, no. 79) only *kalea* was danced in the assembly house. At Walapkayu only *kalea* was danced. At Kotolasaku there were no

dances in Tom Williams' time. He also stated that at the villages near Jamestown only *kalea* and *mamasu* were danced prior to the introduction of the *kuksuyu* series from Knights Ferry. There were no dances in the assembly house at Akanga, so far as Tom Williams knew; only hand games and feasts were held in it. However, an Akanga man named Wosta introduced the *mamasu* dance at Suchumumu (Kroeber, 1925, pl. 37, no. 63).

Kroeber (1932, pp. 416-417) disagrees with my elevation of the ceremonies involving birds to the rank of a cult. His opinion is not a denial of the facts but constitutes, rather, a different interpretation of their significance. He points out the wide distribution in parts of southern California, the Great Basin, the Pueblo area, and northern Mexico of ceremonialism involving the use of birds.

Since the appearance of my 1926 paper archaeological finds of raptorial burials have strengthened the validity of the theory of an ancient bird cult. Heizer and Hewes published in 1940 a paper on "Animal Ceremonialism in Central California in the Light of Archaeology," in which burials of condor, eagle, and hawk, as well as certain mammals are recorded. These have a respectable antiquity since they occur not only in deposits of the archaeologically Late period, but also in the Transitional and Early periods. In 1953, a University of California field class recovered the complete skeletons of two turkey vultures (*Cathartes aura*)<sup>18</sup> which had been buried with a young woman at a depth of 54 inches in site 138, Contra Costa County. One was an adult bird, the other a fledgling not yet able to fly. According to Professor Alden H. Miller, of the Department of Zoology of the University of California, who kindly identified the birds, the fact that the fledgling was too young to fly indicates that the burial was made about June or July. The depth and the absence of clamshell-disk beads and Phase 2 *olivella* beads suggest Phase 1 of the Late horizon, hence a prehistoric burial.

<sup>18</sup> University of California Museum of Anthropology catalogue nos. 1-206206 and 1-206207.



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### Abbreviations

AA	American Anthropologist. Menasha, Wis.
A Ant	American Antiquity. Salt Lake City, Utah.
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.
UC	University of California Publications. Berkeley and Los Angeles, Calif.
-PAAE	American Archaeology and Ethnology
-AR	Anthropological Records
UCAS-R	University of California Archaeological Survey Reports. Berkeley, Calif.

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